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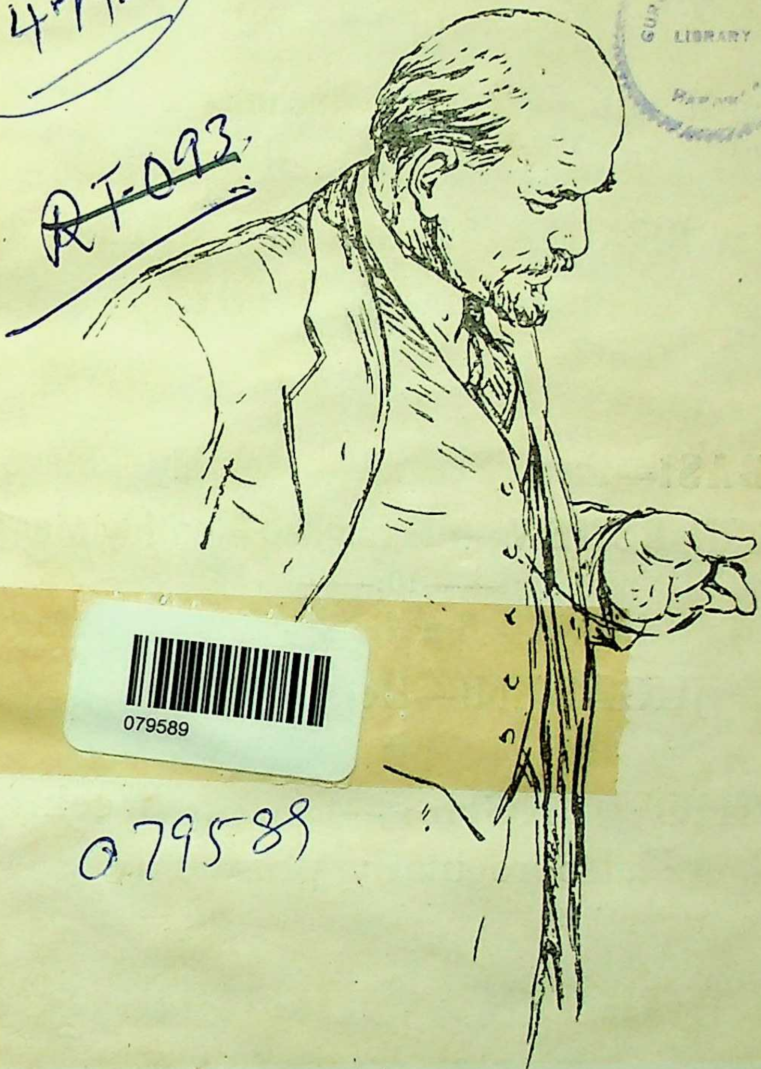

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THE MODERN REVIEW

JANUARY 1960

VOL. CVII, No. 1 WHOLE No. 637

NOTES

Legacies of the Past Year

The principal event in the year that is coming to a close at the time of writing was that which was styled by our erstwhile friend, Mr. Chou En-lai, as an "Episode in an age-long friendship between China and India." It was the culmination to a chain of events, marked by futile communications, between our Premier and the self-same Mr. Chou En-lai, carried on in secret where the people of India were concerned. Indeed we believe that those incidents would have gone on, while Red China was biting off chunks of our Himalayan territory and our Premier and his advisors were floating about in the clouds of neutralistic and non-violent speculation. It is plain for all to see how ineffective, androgynous and unrealistic was the attitude of our Ministry of External affairs and that of our Defence. No wonder that Red China took the truculent and contemptuous attitude that is plainly apparent in all the replies, prior to the stiffening of Mr. Nehru's attitude.

It took this last murderous attack on our police patrol in Ladakh to bring home to Mr. Nehru the bleak realities of the situation. Even then he reacted with "spates of words" and but for public clamour—and perhaps a belated sense of his duties as the Chief Executive of the Union of India—perhaps he would have continued on the same course, until a major belligerent move brought him to halt.

But even now there does not seem to be any clear indication as to which way he and his colleagues are leading us. There does not seem to be any doubt that short of a major armed move, Red China will not retrace her steps. Chinese agents are busy on our borders and inside India her fifth column is active.

The *Statesman* gave on December 27, the details of a Press Conference at Lucknow, where one "Dr. K. I. Singh, a former Prime Minister of Nepal, frankly admitted that he was conducting a campaign against India in his country." There does not seem to be any reason assigned by him as to why he has favoured this country with a visit, or who called the Press Conference.

We do not know if he is the same communist worthy who fled from Nepal into Tibet in an attempt to induce Chinese forces to help him "liberate" Nepal. In any case the brazen statements alleged to have been made by him show that he has come on a mission that bodes nothing good either to Nepal or to us. Who else has come with him and what exactly is he? An agent provocateur or a plain indoctrinated and dehumanised Communist come here to bolster up our own dehumanised specimens?

To go back to the "Episode" we have to consider the effect of the last letter of Mr. Chou En-lai, in reply to Mr. Nehru's letter of November 16. The position is as tangled as it has been since the Ladakh incident, and Mr. Nehru has rightly summed it up as "complete disagreement on facts" in expressing his inability to meet Mr. Chou En-lai on Dec. 26, at Rangoon. We have given a summary of the 3000-word letter elsewhere in these notes.

Mr. Nehru's announcement in the Lok Sabha caused an exchange between Acharya Kripalani, who wanted a debate, and Mr. Nehru, who has reverted back to his single track thinking, without any idea as to where it was likely to lead us. We are inclined to agree with Acharya Kripalani regarding Chinese intentions for prolonging the talks, and we think this Dr. K. I. Singh Press Conference is a clear pointer. We are sure the Chinese are going on with their plans for systematic encroachment while on our side there is an endless and profitless stream of unplanned "negotiations." "Muddle along" seems to be the order of the day at New Delhi.

In contrast to the Indo-Chinese tangle has been the visit of a real friend namely that of President Eisenhower. Elsewhere in these notes we have given the full text of the address, given by him before the two Houses of our Parliament, as a matter of record. This visit was part of a plan, formulated by the Chief Executive of the U.S.A. for the clarification of issues before the "Summit" talks.

The address was on general lines, as was only to be expected, but it had some heartening aspects which opened before us a vista of lessening tensions and hatred over the major part of the World. Coming as it did while our country was seething with a sense of being treacherously assailed and injured by those whom we not only regarded as our friends of long standing but whose cause we had actively advocated before the United Nations, it was particularly welcome.

So this is how we enter the New Year, with grave forebodings where our neighbours are concerned, while in the West they are trying to plan for Peace on Earth. The arena for the play of new hatreds and for the destruction of amity and peace between neighbours has been laid on our borders. And let us confess that we have called upon ourselves this curse by insisting on wrong priorities, by letting loose, without any attempt at restraint, corruption, lust for illicit gain, parochialism and provincialism, as the inevitable corollaries of Party politics.

There is no place in a free World for a nation of inefficients, we should remember, excepting as a matter of grace and charity from the Efficient. We have to make up our mind as to which way we shall proceed, now that there are challenges to our freedom and the integrity of the Union, from across the North as well as from our Western and Eastern marches.

The *Time* news magazine has remarked that the reason why President Eisenhower's address was not cheered more vociferously by our Parliamentarians, was because they expected him to declare that Americans would rush in their millions in India to defend us against our foes. That was undoubtedly a characteristic crack from the *Time* news-hounds, but we cannot deny that those who judge us merel from the utterances of our mouthpiece may jump to such conclusions.

Amendment to the Constitution

The Constitution Eight Amendmen Bill which seeks to extend the Constitutional provision for reservation of seats i legislatures for Scheduled Castes and Tribe for another ten years from January 196 was passed by both Houses of Parliament i December. There was a unique incident i the Lok Sabha during the voting on th Bill which failed to secure the necessar majority at the first counting of vote Amidst confusion the Speaker had t postpone the voting to the following da when the Bill was again put to the vote an passed. But through the opposition of th Communist Group in the Lok Sabha th provision to limit the number and manne of nomination of Anglo-Indian member to State Legislatures failed to receive th qualifying vote and was rejected. The Com munists had however generally endorse the Bill. The Bill will now go before th State Legislatures and will be presented t the President for his signature when at las it has received the approval of seven Stat Legislatures.

There was strong criticism of the Bi from a section of the legislators. The weigh of the arguments of the critics coul not be dismissed lightly. They pointed out the psychological implications of a prolongation of the period of this vested interest which tended to create a vested interest in backwardness. The dominant feeling was that while the Bill was being approved this should be the last extension of the privileges. Prof. A. R. Wadia (nominated member in the Rajya Sabha), for example, said that he supported the measure as a matter of duty. It did not give him pleasure to do it as it was not flattering to believe that vast number of people like the Scheduled Castes still existed with all their disabilities. It was distressing to find that in some places they had threatened with violence when they had claimed enforcement of the rights given them by law. Dr. Raj Bahadur Gaur (Communist) described the measure as "painful phenomena breeding a sense of dependence and opportunism at the cost of merit and standards."

As a matter of fact, however, this extension was unavoidable in view of the deplorably slow progress in the improvement of the lot of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. Untouchability was still a fact in several parts of the country and it was natural that there should be a demand for extension of the period of reservation contemplated by the Constitution. Dwelling upon the Government's responsibility Dr. H. N. Kunzru stressed the fact that the purpose behind the Bill would not be achieved unless the State Governments took more interest in executing schemes for the uplift of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. He said that Ministers themselves did not recognize the national importance of the problem of uplifting these people and, therefore, officials who took their cue from ministers could not be blamed for deficiencies in the execution of schemes. In order to bring about a speedier implementation of these schemes, he suggested that the Union Home Minister should call a Conference of State Ministers every year so that the latter realized their responsibility better than they did now.

In his reply to the debate on the Bill in the Rajya Sabha, the Union Home Minister, Pandit Pant, refuted a suggestion that it had been brought forward because no progress had been made in the amelioration of the conditions of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. He said that if there was no progress there would be no justification for the Bill. It was expected to give momentum to the advancement already registered.

Explaining the need for the extension of this privilege beyond January, 1960 (when under the Constitution as at present it expires) the Home Minister, Pandit Pant, said that the reasons which had weighed with the Constituent Assembly in making the provision did not cease to exist. Of course, since the advent of freedom, there had been an appreciable improvement in the conditions of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. But still the task was of enormous magnitude and whatever had been done was but a fraction of what still remained to be done. There was still a wide gap separating them from the rest of the community. Some progress made by them was largely due to their special representation in the legislature. If this were to cease, there would be a setback. If the nation's solidarity was to be invulnerable, all elements in society should coalesce.

Pandit Pant then stressed the importance of fostering a sense of emotional integration among the Scheduled Tribes. He said that since they were isolated in far-off places, their bonds with others should be strengthened. They must be made to feel that they were a respected section of the Indian people.

Prof. N. R. Malkani (Nom.), supporting the Bill, said that the tendency of looking at the problems of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes from merely a political standpoint was to be regretted. Treating the matter in this way might help a few but the difficulties remained. It was only if the whole question was looked at from the social and religious point of view that it would be easy of solution.

Mr. Pant said that a number of suggestions had been made in the course of the discussion and it would be his endeavour to examine them and benefit by them. As suggested by Dr. Kunzru, he proposed to convene a conference of Ministers dealing with this problem in the various States. He would also request them to be vigilant so that before the expiry of this period of ten years they would be able to say that they discharged their duties by the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and that they were now able to stand on their own legs, shoulder to shoulder with the rest of the community.

The Home Minister said that he had himself been giving some thought to the question of re-organization of the department. So far, at the Centre they had only a Secretariat and no executive machinery. The Scheduled Castes Commissioner had on the whole to deal with the question of evaluation. Some time ago a number of Assistant Commissioners had been appointed. "But I feel that still the staff is not adequate and perhaps it may be desirable to have an executive section which will keep in close touch with the States and also with the Centre and see that the schemes for development and for removal of disabilities are pushed through as speedily and vigorously as possible. I am giving thought to it but I cannot say more about it," he stated.

The Home Minister said that some time ago they had appointed a special team to see the progress made in this field and the difficulties that had to be faced in the execution of the plans. The report of the team had been received. He had also appointed a committee under Dr. Verrier Elwin for examining the working of multi-purpose blocks in the tribal areas. They had to be treated in a different way. The common pattern would not suit them. Another committee had also been set up to go into the question of nomadic tribes, and its report was expected within this week.

As regards the question of sweepers and scavengers, Mr. Pant continued, he would endorse every word of what Dr. Kunzru had said. Ultimately, the measure of their success in this field would be determined by the progress that was made by sweepers and scavengers. They had been subject to ignominious treatment and the way this state of affairs had been tolerated was not conducive to their good name or the reputation of the country for a humane outlook. The problem was not merely political and social but humanitarian too.

To fulfil the Constitutional requirement the Rajya Sabha divided during all the three stages of the Bill and adopted it unanimously with all the 169 members present voting in favour, with none against or abstaining. It had already received the endorsement of the Lok Sabha.

What we have failed to find in all the reports regarding the passage of this Amendment Bill, in the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha, is a categorical answer to the main question regarding the doubtful benefits of this measure in the past. Is this measure conducive to progress or does it merely help political adventure?

S. S.

Problems of Calcutta Port

The general feeling in the country is that the question of the development of ports in India has not received proper attention in the hands of the authorities concerned. The economic importance of the ports has hitherto been looked upon as mere subsidiary to the importance of the other sectors of the economy, namely, agriculture and industry. The point is much overlooked that unless the ports are well developed, the developments in other sectors of the economy are bound to be impeded. The fast deterioration in the conditions of navigability of the river Hooghly has affected the Calcutta port so much so that vessels of deeper draughts which even fifteen years ago could easily touch at the port of Calcutta, cannot today come up to Calcutta. At the last National Harbour Board's meeting held in Calcutta in October last the problems of the Calcutta port were discussed. Haldia has been developed as a subsidiary port of anchorage to Calcutta on account of the extreme congestion in the Calcutta port and its inability to receive deeper-draughted ships. Subsequently, at the National Shipping Board's meeting held in New Delhi in the last week of November, 1959, the need for immediate steps to save the Calcutta port was emphasised. It was pointed out at the meeting that unless further deterioration of the navigable depths of the Hooghly was stopped immediately, it would endanger the economy of the eastern region. It is needless to say that the eastern region may be regarded as the "industrial heart" of the country.

At the last annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, the problems of port developments in India were fully discussed. In the opinion of the Chambers, the improvement of port facilities has not kept pace with the overall expansion of the national economy. The inadequate facilities at most ports imposed increasingly severe limiations on the present efficiency and the progress of trade and industry in the future. Under the Second Plan a sum of Rs. 78 crore was allotted for the development of the major ports in the country. Out of this only Rs. 24 crore have been spent so far. This shows that there is a great difference between making decisions and their execution. The allotment of financial resources is not enough unless it is pushed through execution. For the development of the Calcutta port, a sum of Rs. 31 crore was allotted and out of this only Rs. 6 crore have so far been spent on development projects. These projects do not come under the purview of the Second Plan, but are those which have been carried over from the First Plan.

While moving the resolution on the Calcutta port, Mr. M. R. Das warned about the progressive deterioration of the Hooghly and the alarming situation of the Balari and the Rangafalla Channels. He said that the minimum depth of water at the Balari Bar was now seven feet only as compared to about 17 feet in 1944. The Balari Bar at present is the only approach channel to Calcutta, the Rangafalla Channel being no longer navigable. Several vessels had recently touched botton at the Balari Bar. This is no doubt an alarming condition and this requires immediate steps for deeper dredging.

In the Hooghly, there has been fast deterioration of drafts as well sailing opportunities. In January 1957, the maximum drafts were 27 feet and in January 1959, the maximum drafts fell to 24 feet. The number of sailing opportunities has also been seriously affected. For instance, in November 1957, there are 15 days when deep laden vessels of 12 knots or over could sail. But during November 1959, there were only two such days. Bore tides of increased frequency and intensity have further worsened the situation.

As a result, Mr. Das said that the use of riverside berths was restricted and vessels could not load freely in the river. Rapid siltation is taking place within the Kidderpore Docks owing to the absence of an adequate water supply from Tolly's Nullah. It is the responsibility of the West Bengal Government to dredge Tolly's Nullah properly but adequarte measures have not been taken by the West Bengal Government for keeping the Tolly's Nullah silt-free. Siltation in docks is restricting accommodation for deep-laden vessels. Many Committees were appointed in the past, like, the Lakur Committee, the Vasist Committee, the Chaudhuri Committee, the Jeejeebhoy Committee and the Customs Reorganisation Committee. Many local and foreign experts were appointed in these committees, but their recommendations were not given effect to.

The main drawback of our administrative machinery is that with a view to evading any issue and its solution, the Government appoints a committee, but takes no action in most of the cases. The reports are shelved into the cold storage. This mentality is most deplorable, especially now that we are independent and can feel the urgent necessity of nation-building projects. The anchorage at Haldia should not be taken to substitute the Calcutta port. The anchorage at Haldia can be operated only during the fair season from November to February.

Mr. Das made the following remarks: "The tendency of administrations in Indian ports today is towards a rigid monolithic structure, with increasing control being exercised by the Government. Ever since 1951, when the Port Trust Acts were amended with the object of ensuring a greater degree of uniformity and more control by the Government, this tendency has been predominant. While a certain degree of uniformity and centralization is undoubtedly necessary in the interests of planning, this must not unnecessarily be carried to a length which negates all flexibility and efficiency. Individual ports have their local peculiarities and planning tends to become ineffective and wasteful without some degree of decentralization."

The delay in execution of policies may be attributed to the condition of over-centralization in port administration. As for example, the financial powers of the Chairman of the Calcutta port are limited to Rs. 5,000 only and the Calcutta Port Authorities cannot incur any capital expenditure without the prior approval of the Union Transport Ministry. These regulations now appear to have become obsolete in view of the changing needs of the country. While the authorities talk much of decentralization in administration, it is the least achieved where it is needed most. All foreign experts that recently examined the working conditions of the Calcutta port have advised better and deeper dredging of the Hooghly. In order to prevent the port of Calcutta from being dead, three effective steps are needed, namely, intensified dredging operations, river training works and restoration of adequate headwater supply. The last measure may be regarded as a step towards permanent prevention of siltation. But that depends on the proposed Farakka barrage the execution of which lies shelved in official red-tapism and indifference.

Without the early building of the Farakka barrage, all other steps will be in the nature of stop-gap arragements having temporary effectiveness. The indifference of the Union Government to the rapid deterioration of the Calcutta port has affected the entire economy of the eastern region. A new dredger is expected to come early and then adequate dredging operations can be undertaken. But may we ask why this step was not taken much earlier? Had resort to deeper dredging operations been taken some years back, then Calcutta would not have faced the problem of siltation which she is now facing. Moreover, while so many river projects could be undertaken, it is a mystery why the Farakka barrage scheme could not have been executed much earlier to maintain the adequate supply of headwater to the Hooghly.

The Second Five-Year Plan laid down the target of increasing the port facility to 40 million tons. But in view of the slow progress towards modernization and improvement, this target will not be achieved. Therefore the Third Plan will have a substantial carry-over from the Second Plan. The Calcutta Port Commissioners have at present four dredgers, of which two are extremely old, having been built 38 years and 46 years ago. They are frequently laid up for repair for long periods and in consequence the dredging operations have become inadequate.

N. R.

Developments in Co-operative Credit

During the first week of December, 1959, the all-India conference of State Central Co-operative banks were held at Bangalore. Different problems connected with co-operative credit were discussed at the conference and some conclusions were arrived at. The State Co-operative Banks have come to the conclusion that both the Central Government and the State Governments should bear risks for a more liberalised credit programme which is soon going to be put into operation for augmenting the supply of rural credit. The conference has made the recommendation that 15 per cent of the total loan advanced to farmers should be treated as bad debt and a provision needs be made as a "bad debt reserve fund." The conference suggests that for the apex co-operative banks, the present credit limits should be raised to thirty times of the owned funds from the fifteen times as at present. For the district co-operative banks, the limits should be raised to twenty times from the present limit of twelve times. And as regards the primary societies, the conference has suggested that they should get credit up to fifteen times of their owned funds. At present they get credit up to eight times of their owned funds from the States.

The conclusions of the conference would now be examined by the V. L. Mehta Committee on Co-operative Credit. The conference has recommended liberalisation of credit terms for the farmers as well as for the co-operative banks. In its view, the period of repayment of medium-term loans should be extended to five years from the three years as at present. This extension of time will particularly benefit the agriculturists who want to improve their land. The conference also favours the Government participation in the share capital of primary societies and service co-operatives. But the Government participation in the management has been sought to be limited to one-sixth of the total strength of the managing committee of a co-operative society, or three nominees, whichever is higher. The conference is in favour of advancing loans for agricultural production on a family basis. This was recently suggested by the Central Government. It is proper that the needs of every family should be assessed on an individual basis, although the loans will be made on a family basis.

The conference has suggested a new step in the field of co-operative credit and it is that exchange of business among the State Co-operative Banks should be promoted on the inter-State basis. This measure, if put into operation, will bring the State co-operative banks into a chain system and this will remove a long-felt want. The inter-State exchange of business will have further advantage in so far as it will help revolving the rural credit all over the country. The surplus funds will move to deficit areas and the scope of co-operative credit will thus receive an extension. India needs a Central Co-operative Bank on the lines of Farm Credit Organization in the USA. Not only the USA, but most other countries have set up a central rural credit bank to facilitate the expansion of rural credit.

But the conference did not discuss this issue. Notwithstanding all pious wishes on the part of the authorities, the scope of co-operative credit in the field of agriculture is very limited. Unless there is an apex co-operative bank over all the State co-operative banks, the co-operative credit shall continue to play a limited role as at present. Unless there is a lender in the last resort in the field of rural credit, both in respect of short-term and long-term accommodations, the propsects of rural credit will not improve much. The farmers shall be compelled to borrow on a large scale either from the village money-lenders or in the alternative shall have to go without the much-needed credit for production purposes.

The working of the co-operative societies are still subject to several critcisms. As for instance, there is undue delay in granting loans, unnecessary red-tapism, political leanings of the members of the managing committees, and the like. Recently, there has been a crop of criticisms against the co-operative societies in Madras, Andhra, Kerala and Mysore. The recent rise in the prices of foodgrains was attributed to the liberal grant of credit to the farmers in these States and this resulted in speculative hoardings.

In granting short-term and long-term loans to the State Co-operative Banks and long-term loans to State Governments, the Reserve Bank of India takes into account their actual needs. In the case of the Apex Co-operative Banks, the Reserve Bank takes into consideration their financial position and extent of the unutilised credit limits. Since April 1, 1959, loans specifically for participation in the share capital of large-sized co-operative societies have not been sanctioned by the Reserve Bank. The short-term loans granted by the Reserve Bank are repayable within a period of fifteen months or twelve months as the case might be, depending on whether the loans were sanctioned for agricultural purposes or for the development of cottage or small-scale industries. Medium-term loans are repayable to the Reserve Bank in instalments after the expiry of fifteen months from the drawal of each loan but before the end of five years from that date. The long-term loans granted by the Reserve Bank are repayable within a maximum period of twenty years.

N. R.

Karnal Verdict Aftermath

The verdict on the Karnal murder case to which a reference was made in these columns last month has created a furore in press, Parliament and the Punjab Legislative Assembly. Indeed the judge's remarks upon the officials could not be ignored by any Government. The interest of the members of Parliament was called for by the further fact that the conduct of several members of the All-India Services was also involved in the affair and the maintenance of administrative integrity in a border State was at stake.

The Special Judge's reference to the conduct of the Chief Minister of Punjab, Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon, was for obvious reasons not relished by many Congressmen who also saw the dangers inherent in any unnecessary delay in clearing even the least possible iota of doubt about the conduct of the Chief Executive of a State Government belonging to the party. There were many other reasons for anxiety. A few months ago, the former Union Finance Minister had levelled serious charges against people in authority whom he offered to name before an independent Commission of Enquiry. The accusation by Shri V. P. Menon, the Swatantra leader, that certain cases of corruption involving Congress Ministers had also not been refuted. Under such circumstances it might have been thought highly desirable for the Congress High Command to take serious notice: but it did not take up the matter, leaving it to be dealt with at the State level, as the Union Home Minister told his questioners in the Lok Sabha on December 5—which increased their misgivings. That explains why the Congress members took a leading part in confronting Shri Pant with a number of very uncomfortable questions.

An idea of the feelings of some of the Congress Parliamentarians and of the nature of the replies the Union Home Minister could offer can be formed from the questions and answers in the Lok Sabha on December 4. The questioner was Shri Feroze Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi: I do not want to go into the question of the judgment and the strictures that have been passed. Pending this case the officer concerned was under suspension and he is still under suspension. I would like to know whether after the sessions court has passed these strictures it is proper for the Chief Minister to continue in office or not and whether the Government have considered the question of suspending him from Chief Ministership pending appeal.

The Home Minister: The Chief Minister is elected by the party. If because of any particular action or development the party loses confidence in him it is open to the party to pass a vote of no-confidence. The Union Government have no authority to appoint a Chief Minister or to dismiss him.

Mr. Gandhi: I do not agree with the Home Minister because I think the President has the powers. If a court of law passes strictures of this kind on the Chief Minister and the party continues to hold confidence in him will the Government of India tolerate such a situation?

Pandit Pant: The question is a constitutional one. First, as to the character of the strictures there may be a difference of opinion. I have not seen the judgment in full but I remember having seen in one of the reports the remarks of the court that the Chief Minister was not directly or indirectly responsible for the false evidence that has been led in the case.

The Union Home Minister's roundabout replies to very simple questions, read with the Prime Minister's comment on the Punjab police the day before in his monthly press conference, do not suggest that the Union Government or even Shri Pant is quite sure of the adequacy of the reply given. If this reserve is the outcome of the operation of any process of review of the matter, it should be welcome. Nothing can be more unfortunate—even from the limited party point of view, as the eviden uneasiness among a fairly good number of Congressmen shows—however, if the matter is sought to be allowed to rest there without further action being taken.

For the issues involved go far beyond the interest of a Chief Minister or a police officer. Even the question of justice being done to the contenders becomes a little irrelevant. It is certainly not a question pertaining to the relationship between a minister and a police officer—the latter should undoubtedly be subordinate to the former in all cases and talks of greater independence for officers should stop—but it is one of integrity of the administrative process which permits such gross violations of liberty under the cloak of law and order as the murder of the three citizens by the accused (which was alleged by the prosecution) or the formulation of trumped-up charges against dutiful police officials (as the verdict implied). One or the other of these must have been the case, there being no third way of interpreting the charges and counter-charges. Either way it is the administrative process that stands self-condemned and that primarily is the question upon which attention has to be concentrated; it need not, and cannot, brook the delay attendant upon waiting for the appeal to be heard.

The Government's attitude to this matter was made quite clear in Shri Datar's refusal to consider Shri D. C. Sharma's proposal for the appointment of a high-power commission to suggest ways for reorganising the administration which also came up before the Lok Sabha on the same day (December 4). The nation can hardly afford to let the matter rest there. Even the President of India is understood to have felt impelled to endorse, with particular reference to the Karnal case, the popular demand for a high-level commission of enquiry to inquire into and, if necessary, to initiate investigations into charges against people in high positions, including Ministers.

The Punjab Government has since reinstated all the accused in the Karnal murder case with the exception of Shri D. S. Grewal, former Superintendent of the Karnal district against whom certain other charges are reported to be pending. There has been heated discussion in the Punjab Vidhan Sabha over this matter and at the time of writing a motion for breach of privileges by the Government is pending in both Houses of the State Legislature against the Government.

S. S.

Trial By Jury to Stay

The Union Home Minister, Sri Govind Ballabh Pant, said in a written reply to a question in the Lok Sabha on December 9, that the Government did not propose to abolish trial by jury. He added that the system existed at present in Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Mysore and West Bengal.

The Government of India's decision was in direct opposition to the Law Commission which reported that "opinions expressed in the answers to our questionaire and by the witnesses examined by us were preponderantly in favour of the abolition of trial by jury even to the extent to which it exists in certain parts of the country" and recommended for its actual abolition having been "convinced that the jury system in India which has had such a long trial has been a failure" (pp. 864, 873 of the *Fourteenth Report of the Law Commission of India, Vol. II*, Chapter 42).

The jury trial is not universal in India and is restricted to certain specified parts. Unlike under the Constitution of the United States of America, there is no fundamental right of the citizens in India to demand trial by a jury and it depends entirely on the Government of each State to decide in what areas and in respect of what offences trial by jury should be introduced. Trial by jury in India to the extent it exists today is but a transplantation of a practice prevalent in England which has failed to grow and take root in the country. In a recent case in Bombay where Commander K. M. Nanavati of the Indian Navy was facing trial for the alleged murder of one Shri Prem Ahuju who had committed adultery with Mrs. Nanavati, the trial judge had to reject the findings of the jury, who had declared

Nanavati as not guilty, as perverse. It was perhaps that incident which had prompted the member to raise the question in Parliament.

Trial by jury is on the decline even in England where jury trials now take place only in two to three per cent of the volume of litigation. The expert Law Commission of India has also recommended for its abolition. The Government therefore owed an explanation for its decision to stick to jury trial in places where it is in vogue.

S. S.

Developments in Ceylon

Developments in Ceylon took an unexpected turn with the dissolution of Parliament on December 5, by the Prime Minister Mr. Wijayananda Dahanayake. The coalition Government had been shaky even during the life-time of the late Premier Mr. Bandaranaike and that instability grew much more acute under his successor-in-office, Mr. Dahanayake. The Bandaranaike murder investigation provided a focal point for the internal pushes and pulls to come to the fore. The ministry could survive two motions on no-confidence only with the help of the six nominated members. Its moral defeat was, however, beyond question. The dissolution of the House of Representatives would not have been in itself extraordinary but for other developments. The Prime Minister advised the Governor-General to dissolve the House without consulting his Cabinet colleagues—an extraordinary Act on the part of a head of a Democratic Government. He then resigned from the ruling party though his resignation was not accepted and he was "expelled" from the party. On December 8, the Governor-General, Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, removed five ministers of the ruling "Sri Lanka Freedom" party from the Cabinet and took back Mr. Stanley de Zoysa, who had to resign as Finance Minister sometime ago because of strong public criticism of his association with people suspected of participation in the Bandaranaike murder plot. This was done on the advice of Mr. Dahanayake. The five ministers—Mr. T. B. Illangaratne (Home Affairs), Mr. A. P. Jayasuriya (Health), Mr. Maitripala Senanayake (Transport and Power), Mr. M. P. de Zoysa (Labour) and Mr. P.B.G. Kalugalle (Cultural Affairs), and the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Transport and Power, Mr. Hugh Fernando—who were dismissed from office—represented the hard core of the rebel group in the Cabinet which had challenged the decisions and the leadership of Mr. Dahanayake particularly over the method of investigation of the Bandaranaike murder. The dramatic expulsion of these Ministers who held half of the key Cabinet portfolios and reinstatement of Mr. Stanley de Zoysa to the caretaker Cabinet with wider powers were interpreted in Ceylonese political quarters as part of a "master plan" of the Premier, Mr. Dahanayake, to establish a dictatorship of the extreme Right in Ceylon.

No doubt Mr. Dahanayake also announced the date of next elections which is March 19, 1960 but their was general fear that the elections might not be held. Reporting the reaction to the dissolution of Parliament and the dismissal of ministers the *Statesman's* Colombo correspondent wrote on December 9:

> The Ministers who were sacked from the Cabinet last night, leaders of Marxist parties and newspapers today expressed alarm that shocking events of the past one week may be a planned attempt to disrupt democracy. There is hardly one politician in Ceylon today who is prepared to allay fears in public minds that the general elections scheduled for March next year may not be held. Mr. Stanley de Zoysa, who resigned from the Cabinet recently following the arrest of his brother, Mr. Dickie de Zoysa, was last night brought back to the Cabinet as Minister of Home Affairs and Health. As Home Minister, Mr. de Zoysa will be in charge of preparation for the general elections and prison affairs.

S. S.

Penicillin Enquiry

The Government of India have announced the appointment of a Four-man Committee to report on the procedure of quality control in the Pimpri Penicillin Factory and the general working of the Hindustan Anti-Biotics Limited which is a State undertaking. The Committee will be headed by the well-known scientist, Dr.

H. J. Bhaba and will include Dr. P. N. Chopra, Director of the Drug Research Laboratory, Jammu and Kashmir, Dr. J. C. Ray of the Calcutta Laboratory, and Dr. G. C. Pandit, Director of the Indian Medical Council. This announcement was made in the Rajya Sabha on December 22, by the Union Minister for Industries, Shri Manubhai Shah. It followed widespread speculation about the quality of penicillin being manufactured in India which had its origin in the sudden death of Shri V. D. Tripathi, a Member of Parliarment from Uttar Pradesh in New Delhi on November 29 immediately after the administration of an injection of Penicillin.

The matter first came up before the Rajya Sabha on December 2, when Dewan Chamanlal raised a question. He suggested that Shri Tripathi's death had been caused by the sub-standard quality of the drug and hinted that the fall in the standard had been due to the removal of a senior official in charge of quality control by the administrative officer who held the position of the factory's managing director. The Union Health Minister, Shri D. P. Karmarkar, denied the validity of those accusations but Shri Chamanlal countered the denial by further alleging that the factory was keeping back information from the Government. He further said that he had come to know that of the four tests of the vials in question the first three had shown "positive" toxic results. The factory had suppressed this information and furnished the results of the fourth test. Shri Karmarkar could not deny that allegation and assured that an enquiry would be made into the matter. The Union Minister for Industries disclosed that some vials of procaine penicillin, manufactured by the Government factory at Pimpri had been sent to Washington, London, Calcutta, Bombay and Karachi for scientific analysis.

Shri V. K. Dhage (Democratic) raised the matter again in the Rajya Sabha on December 22, repeating the allegation of Shri Chamanlal that the factory had passed the batch of penicillin (one of which had been used for the late Shri Tripathi M.P.) after a fourth test in contravention of the Drug Rules which required the rejection of the batch as the first three tests had been unfavourable. Even the junior scientist employees of the factory, Shri Dhage alleged, had protested against the unusual procedure for testing of quality. He testified this charge by producing a photostat copy of the observations made by the junior scientists.

The Ministers of Health and Industries persisted in their denial of the charges though the denials were not very satisfactorily supported by objective data. The results of laboratory tests of the penicillin vials are yet to be received from abroad. It is good that the Government has ultimately seen the wisdom of having a thorough probe into the matter. A Subcommittee of five experts most of whom were attached to research institutes had been appointed by the Board of Directors of the Hindustan Anti-Biotics Ltd., to make a report on the working of the factory. The Committee appointed by the Government will begin work after the Sub-Committee's report is received.

S. S.

Producing Enough Food

Producing enough food for the people is by common consent the key to the future prosperity of the nation. Unless we are able to produce food sufficient to meet the needs of our growing population all our plans for economic development are bound to suffer serious setback, as the lesson of the first two Five-Year Plans has so clearly demonstrated. Food again holds the key to price stabilization in the absence of which run-away inflation is eating into the vitals of the national economy. That there are possibilities for a great increase in our food production is not seriously disputed by any. The differences arise only over the method to be adopted for achieving this end. Some hold that the system of land tenure has got nothing to do with it while others hold that it certainly has much to do with it. The Congress Party has agreed upon the imposition of a ceiling on land holding by an individual. The programme is yet to be implemented in a great majority of States notwithstanding in fact that the Congress Party is in power there. If the opposition within the Congress Party has tended to hinder progress in the implementation of a policy of imposing a ceiling, the disagreement over the disposal of the surplus land that would be available after the placing of a ceiling on land holdings is still more likely to act as an inhibiting factor.

Speaking before a symposium on problems of food production in an underdeveloped economy in New Delhi on December 20 Dr. Punjabrao Deshmukh, Union Minister for Agriculture, said that while he was sympathetic to the suggestion for giving land to the landless he did not think that such a policy could augment agricultural production. He endorsed a suggestion made in course of discussions in the symposium that the surplus land obtained after the enforcement of ceilings should be handed over not to the landless but to the owners of uneconomic holdings. He voiced his disappointment at the fact that the Government of India and the Planning Commission had not accepted this policy. There is evidently much that can be said in favour of Dr. Deshmukh's proposal, but it is nevertheless difficult to see how the distribution of surplus lands to landless labourers could retard food production. Apart from the physical difficulty of integrating the surplus land with that of the uneconomic holdings which is likely to occur in many places no realistic policy for agriculture can disregard the psychological factors in the countryside. The national movement has for such a long time been led with slogan of "land to the tillers" that a going back on this policy now is simply inconceivable. On the other hand there is the hope that once they are given a plot of their own land hungry tiller would put the best of their effort in getting the maximum product out of it.

S. S.

Food Situation

The food situation in the country has remained a constant source of worry not only to the authorities, but also to the people. The earlier hope that India would be self-supporting in food production before the end of the Second Plan seems now to have receded into a situation of uncertainty. It is now certain that there is little prospect of attaining self-sufficiency in food production in the near future. With 1949 as base, the index of agricultural production was at 117 in 1959. This indicates that the average annual increase in food production has been less than two per cent. While the rate of population growth is now placed at 2.1 per cent per year, the production of food crops is lagging behind. The target of food production for the Third Plan has been placed at 110 million tons. But it is doubtful whether India will be able to achieve this target unless India adopts mechanised farming. Both the USA and the USSR have discarded small-scale farming and have adopted large-scale farming on mechanized basis. In the USA, 55 million acres have produced nearly 1,182 million bushels of wheat in 1959 and this quantity not only meets the domestic need of the country, it also creates a huge surplus for exports abroad.

Inadequate attention to agriculture will mean retardation to balanced economic development of a country, particularly a backward country. The Food and Agricultural Organisation in its latest annual report makes the following observation: "Balanced development does not preclude selecting some key sectors, e.g., steel, chemicals, for special attention in the expectation that if these develop, progress in other sectors will follow. Agriculture, itself, however, appears to be a key sector. It is especially important in less developed countries, where food is the largest item (more than half and up to three-fourths) of expenditure in family budgets and the cost of food is a prime factor in the production cost of all industries. If agriculture has not always been accorded such high priority it is perhaps because it has always been there, and tends to be regarded as a reserve of finance and manpower rather than a key sector in its own right." Thus agriculture is a key sector in its own right and should form the basis of any balanced economic development, particularly under planned economy.

On account of higher expenditures in the public sector of the economy, the consumption of food has been progressively rising at an accelerated rate and as a result India cannot get herself rid of the persistent food shortage. The authorities are trying to import more foodgrains and also to raise the internal production. The bottlenecks in internal distribution also cause regional scarcity. With a view to removing the barriers in internal distribution, the Government of India decided that there would be State trading in foodgrains through the State Trading Corporation. But this scheme proved a failure owing to the difficulties in procurement through private agents. During the recent discussion on food in the Indian Parliament, the Government admitted that in deficit States there was no proper procurement, particularly in the States of West Bengal and Bihar. Procurement in these States resulted in the closure of rice mills and this made it difficult for the authorities to control the prices of foodgrains. Further, procurement prices were floor prices and the market prices were much higher.

With the help of cheap bank credit, the cultivators hoarded their stocks in expectation that during the off season the prices would go up. That shows that the cultivators expect a higher price than the procurement price. The ban on inter-zonal movements of foodgrains also kept down the price at a lower level in the surplus States. The new food policy of the Government of India envisages that ultimately zonal divisions must cease to exist and the country would be regarded as one unit for the purposes of movements of foodgrains. Pending that ultimate realisation, there will be different zones for the present consisting of a deficit and a surplus State. As for example, Orissa and West Bengal have been formed into a zone within which there will be free movement of foodgrains. Orissa is a surplus State, while West Bengal is a deficit State. Similarly, Madhya Pradesh and Bombay will make another zone for the purpose of distribution of wheat. It is now admitted by the authorities that the Reserve Bank's directives to commercial banks to restrict their advances against foodgrains went unheeded and as a result speculative hoardings increased. This situation was greatly responsible for creating the shortfall in supply. It is, however, uncertain whether Orissa will have so such surplus production as to meet the deficit of West Bengal.

The decision of the Union Government to create a food reserve of about 5 million tons follows the recommendation of the Food Grains Enquiry Committee. This step was long overdue. This is essential to maintain normal conditions in the supply position and also to prevent conditions of artificial scarcity created by the hoarders. The estimates of crop production in this country is far from accurate and the wide publicity that the country had a bumper crop made the cultivators panicky as regards the price and consequently they withheld stocks from the markets in fear that larger supply would bring down the prices. This much is certain that in the near future India cannot hope to be self-supporting in domestic production of foodgrains. Therefore, the authorities should be cautious not to make any over-estimates of crop production so as to discourage large productions during the next crop year.

The Union Food Minister announced in the Lok Sabha on November 23 that a statutory price fixation board would be set up in a month or two. The main function of the board would be to fix from time to time prices of foodgrains, sugar, sugarcane and all other crops on the basis of a comparative study of prices, soil conditions and production costs. The representation of the farmers will constitute a majority on the board. The formation of the board is designed to prevent attempts by producers of any single commodity from earning unnatural profits by arbitrarily fixing the prices of their produce. It is expected to stop profiteering, because any rise or fall in prices would be common to all commodities. In the opinion of the Union Food

Minister, traders in future would not be able to raise the price of any commodity which was temporarily or locally scarce. As agricultural products rule the price structure of the entire economy, the formation of the board will also act as an effective brake against "runaway" inflations.

While we do not discourage the formation of such a board, we confess, we fail to understand how the board can really control the price structure of farm products. There is a great difference between the fixation of prices of agricultural commodities and their enforcement. At least the history of price control in this country ever since the beginning of the Second World War definitely shows that in an underdeveloped economy price control cannot be effective unless and until the authorities are in a position to exercise control over the entire stock of production. The recent failure of price control of paddy in West Bengal is one more proof of our contention that mere declaration of prices of agricultural commodities will not be able to pin down the prices at the declared rates, while the stock shall continue to be controlled by private dealers and producers. The proposal of the Union Minister of Food also indicates that the authorities have learnt nothing from past experience that such a step would further worsen the situation and will encourage speculation and generate a condition of artificial scarcity. The economy of the country in relation to farm production is so diversified and decentralised that a board sitting in Delhi may declare the prices, but will not be able to enforce them. How it would prevent profiteering in particular commodities? The speculators in this country always reap unnatural profits in the short period by creating shortage in supply. That has been the case in the recent food scarcity in West Bengal. That is also the case with present abnormal rise in sugar prices. With all the forces at their command, the authorities could not stop the profiteering in paddy transactions in West Bengal nor are they in a position to check the present abnormal rise in sugar prices.

N. R.

Address to the Parliaments

Following is the text of President Eisenhower's speech to both the Houses of Parliament:

"With a sense of high distinction I accepted the invitation to address you. I deem this a great personal honour, and a bright symbol of the genuine friendship between the two peoples you and I represent.

"I bring to this nation of 400 million assurance from my own people that they feel the welfare of America is bound up with the welfare of India. America shares with India the deep desire to live in freedom, human dignity and peace with justice.

"A new and great opportunity for that sort of life has been opened up to all men by the startling achievement of men of science during recent decades. The issue placed squarely before us today is the purpose for which we use science.

"Before us we see long years of what can be a new era; mankind in each year reaping a richer harvest from the fields of earth—gaining a more sure mastery of elemental power for human benefit, sharing an expanding commerce in goods and in knowledge and wisdom —dwelling together in peace.

"But history portrays a world too often tragically divided by misgivings and mistrust. Time and again, governments have abused the fields of earth by staining them with blood and scarring them with the weapons of war. They have used a scientific mastery over nature to win a dominance over others—even made commerce an instrument of exploitation.

"One blunt question I put to you and to all everywhere who, like myself, share responsibility assigned us by our people: Must we continue to live with prejudices, practices and policies that will condemn our children, our children's children, to live helplessly in the pattern of the past—awaiting, possibly, a time of warborne obliteration?

"We all fervently pray not. Indeed, there can be no statesmanship in any person of responsibility who does not concur in this worldwide prayer.

"Over most of the earth, men and women are determined that the conference table shall replace the propaganda mill; international exchange of knowledge shall succeed the international trade in threats and accusations; and the fertile works of peace shall supplant the frenzied race in armaments on war.

"Our hope is that we are moving into a better era. For my part, I shall do all I can, as one human working with other humans, to push toward peace, toward freedom, toward dignity and a worthy future for every man and woman and child in the world.

"If we give all that is within us to this cause, the generations that follow us will call us blessed. Should we shirk the task or pursue the ways of war—now become ways to annihilation and race suicide—there may be no generations to follow us.

"I come here representing a nation that wants not an acre of another people's land; that seeks no control of another people's Government; that pursues no programme of expansion in commerce or politics or power of any sort at another people's expense. It is a nation ready to share its substance in assisting toward achievement of mankind's deep, eternal aspirations for peace and freedom.

"I come here as a friend of India, speaking for 180 million friends of India. In fulfilling a desire of many years, I pay in person America's tribute to the Indian people, to their culture, to their progress, and to their strength among the independent nations.

"All humanity is in debt to this land. But we Americans have, with you, a special community of interests.

"You and we from our first days have sought, by national policy, the expansion of democracy. You and we, peopled by many strains and races speaking many tongues, worshipping in many ways, have each achieved national strength out of diversity. You and we never boast that ours is the only way. We both are conscious of our weakness and failings. We both seek the improvement and betterment of all our citizens by assuring that the State will serve, not master, its own people or any other people. Above all, our basic goals are the same.

"Ten years ago, your distinguished Prime Minister, when I was his host at Columbia University in New York, said: 'Political subjection, racial inequality, economic misery—these are the evils we have to remove if we would assure peace'.

"Our Republic, since its founding, has been committed to a relentless, ceaseless fight against those same three evils: political subjection; racial inequality; economic misery.

"Not always has America enjoyed instant success in a particular attack on them. By no means has victory been won over them and, indeed, complete victory can never be won so long as human nature is not transformed. But in my country, through almost 200 years, our most revered leaders have exhorted us to give our lives and our fortunes to the vanquishment of these evils. And, in this effort for the good of all our people, we shall not tire or desist.

"Ten years have passed since Mr. Nehru spoke his words. The pessimist might say that not only do the three evils still infest the world—entrenched and manifold—but that they will never lose their virulence. And the future, he might conclude, will be a repetition of the past; the world stumbling from crisis in one place to crisis in another; given no respite from anxiety and tension; forever fearful that inevitably some aggression will blaze into global war.

"Thus might the pessimist speak. And, were we to examine only the record of failure and frustration, we all would be compelled to agree with him.

"We Americans have known anxiety and suffering and tragedy, even in the decade just past. Tens of thousands of our families paid a heavy price that the U.N. and the rule of law might be sustained in the Republic of Korea. In millions of our homes there has been, in each, the vacant chair of an absent son who gave some of the years of his youth that successful aggression might not come to pass. The news, that through these 10 years has reached us in America, from near and distant places, has been marked by a lo series of harsh alarms.

"These alarms invariably had their source in the aggressive intentions of an alien philosophy backed by great military might. Faced with this fact, we in America have felt it necessary to make clear our own determination to resist aggression through the provision of adequate armed forces. They serve, not only ourselves, but those of our friends and allies who, like us, have perceived this danger. But they so serve for defensive purposes only. In producing this strength we believe we have made a necessary contribution to a stable peace, for the present and for the future as well.

"Historically, and by instinct, the U.S.A. has always repudiated and still repudiates the settlement by force of international issues and quarrels. Though we will do our best to provide for free world security, we continue to urge the reduction of armaments on the basis of effective reciprocal verification.

"Contrasting with some of our disappointments of the past decade, and the negative purposes of security establishments, Americans have participated also in triumphant works of world progress—political, technical and material. We believe these works support the concept of the dignity and freedom of man. These hearten America that the years ahead will be marked by like and greater works. And America watches, with friendly concern, the valiant efforts of other nations for a better life, particularly those who have newly achieved their independence.

"Ten years ago, India had just achieved independence; wealthy in courage and determination, but beset with problems of a scale and depth and number scarcely paralleled in modern history. Not even the most optimistic of onlookers would then have predicted the success you have enjoyed.

"Today, India speaks to the other nations of the world with greatness of conviction and is heard with greatness of respect. The near conclusion of her second five-year programme is a proof that the difficulty of a problem is only the measure of its challenge to men and women of determined will. India is a triumph that offsets any world failure of the past decade; a triumph that, as men read our history a decade from now, may offset them all.

"India has paced and spurred and inspired men on other continents. Let anyone take a map of the earth and place on it a flag wherever political subjection has ended, racial prejudice been reduced, economic misery at least partially relieved —in the past ten years. He will find evidence in the cluster of these flags that the 10 years past may well have been the 10 most fruitful in the ageold fight against the three evils.

"Because of these 10 years, today our feet are set on the road leading to a better life for all men. What blocks us that we do not move forward instantly into an era of plenty and peace?

"The answer is obvious. We have not yet solved the problem of fear among the nations. The consequence is that not one Government can exploit the resources of its own territory solely for the good of its people.

"Governments are burdened with sterile expenditures—preoccupied with attainment of a defensive military posture that grows less meaningful against today's weapon-carriers.

"Much of the world is trapped in the same vicious circle. Weakness in arms often invites aggression or subversion or externally manipulated revolution. Fear inspired in others by the increasing military strength of one nation spurs them to concentrate still more of their resources on weapons and warlike measures. The arms race becomes more universal. Doubt as to the true purpose of these weapons intensifies tension. Peoples are robbed of opportunity for their own peaceful development. The hunger for a peace, of justice and good will inevitably become more intense.

"Controlled, universal disarmament is the imperative of our time. The demand for it by the hundreds of millions whose chief concern in the long future of themselves and their children will, I hope, become so universal and insistent that no man, no Government can withstand it.

"My nation is committed to a ceaseless search for ways through which genuine disarmament can be reached. And my Government, even as I said more than six years ago, in April of 1953, still 'is ready to ask its people to join with all nations in devoting a substantial percentage of the savings achieved by disarmament to a fund for world aid and reconstruction'.

"But armaments of themselves do not cause wars. Wars are caused by men.

"And, men are influenced by a fixation on the past, the dead past, with all its abuses of power, and its misuses of responsibility, all its futile convictions that force can solve any problem.

"In the name of humanity, can we not join in a five-year or a fifty-year plan against mistrust and misgivings and fixation on the wrongs of the past ? Can we not apply ourselves to the removal or reduction of the causes of tension that exist in the world ? All these are the creations of Governments, cherished and nourished by Governments. Nations would never feel them if they were given freedom from propaganda and pressure.

"My own experience in the past 10 years convinces me that much of the world's fear, suspicion, prejudice can be obliterated. Men and women everywhere need only to lift up their eyes to the heights that can be achieved together, and ignoring what has been, push together for what can be.

"Not one wrong of years ago that still rankles, not one problem that confronts us today, not one transitory profit that might be taken from another's weakness, should distract us from the pursuit of a goal that dwarfs every problem and wrong.

"We have the strength and the means and the knowledge. May God inspire us to strive for the worldwide will and wisdom that are now our first needs.

"In this great crusade, from the history of your own nation, I know India will ever be a leader."

Towards the end of his speech, Mr. Eisenhower departed from the prepared text to give his personal experiences in Hawaii and in Columbia University to underscore his point that "the world's fear, suspicion, prejudice, can be obliterated."

Mr. Eisenhower said that Hawaii, which had emerged last year as a new State of the U.S.A., had peoples whose ancestral homes were in Asia, Africa, Europe and the two Americas. There were men and women of varied creeds and colour. "Yet they live in complete friendliness and in mutual trust, each choosing his own good by helping to achieve the good of all."

In Columbia University, Mr. Eisenhower added, as president of the university every year he welcomed boys and girls from almost every nation, from territories and colonies not yet free. There were hundreds of young people from India, China, Japan and other Asian countries. They were completely detached from prejudices, and suspicious of the past. "Indeed these vices are not easily discernible among the young of any people."

Dr. Radhakrishnan greeted President Eisenhower as "a servant of a new and nobler world" and assured him of India's wholehearted co-operation in his attempts to secure peace.

Stressing the common bonds and ideals between India and the U.S.A. the Vice-President, amidst loud and repeated cheers, told Mr. Eisenhower, "the bond of shared ideals is stronger than military pacts, Mr. President."

"Our relations with the U.S.A. have been friendly all these years. The U.S.A. herself emerged from colonial status to independence after a struggle. So, she had sympathy for all nations who struggle for independence. During our struggle for independence we had the moral sympathy and support of the people of America and the Government of America.

"After independence, in our attempts to build the economy—an economy suited to the new expectations of our people—we have received assistance from them also.

"Even as social disparities resulting from inequalities of wealth and opportunity affect the stability of a nation, the gaps between the advanced nations, which are rich, and the desparately poor nations are an obstacle to the security and stability of the world. We have to look upon the world as a single unit for economic affairs. This is admitted in theory but not implemented always in practice. We, in our country, have been attempting to raise the standards of living, increase employment opportunities by the encouragement of business, agriculture and industry. We do so within the framework of free institutions.

"If you look at our Constitution, Mr. President, you will see there echoes of your Constitution, equality of opportunity, respect for law, individual dignity, social justice and progress. The bond of shared ideals is stronger than military pacts, Mr. President.

"As a great general with all knowledge of the nature of war and the knowledge of the modern weapons of destruction you know the unintelligence, futility, stupidity and the waste of war as a method of settling international disputes.

"Your are now, therefore, attempting with all your wisdom and great authority to reduce international tension and bring about disarmament. Recent events in the East as well as the West may not encourage optimism; but they do not forbid hope. It is with that hope that you have undertaken this long journey, visiting distant countries and explaining to our people, the peoples of different countries you visit, the passionate interest which you and your country have in peace and human welfare."

Chou En-lai's Reply

The Hindu of December 20, gives the following summary of Chou En-lai's reply:

The Chinese Premier's reply dated December 18, was handed over to the Indian Ambassador in Peking, Mr. G. Parthasarathi, and received by the External Affairs Ministry, at New Delhi today. The text was released by the Chinese Embassy here.

Prime Minister Nehru, it may be recalled, had, in his letter dated November 16, while expressing his willingness to meet Mr. Chou En-lai for talks, insisted that there should be some "interim understanding" which help to ease the present tension. The Chinese Premier says that holding of talks is necessary to reach "some agreement on principles as a guidance to concrete discussion and settlement of the boundary question by the two sides."

In his 3,000-word letter, the Chinese Premier's main contention is that the entire border between the two countries has never been delimited and that it is impossible to deny this. Therefore it has to be settled by talks. Before dealing with Mr. Nehru's counter proposals in regard to the McMahon Line in the north-east and the creation of a no-man's land in Ladakh, the Chinese Premier hastens to assure that China will not take unilateral action pending settlement of the dispute.

Dealing with the counter-proposals made by Prime Minister Nehru in his letter dated November 16, the Chinese Premier says that the Chinese Government "is prepared to agree first to reach a partial solution by applying the proposal you have made in your letter for the non-stationing of armed forces of both sides at Longju to the other disputed places on the border as well." It claims Longju as Chinese territory by saying that Indian armed personnel once occupied it and mentions Khinzemane, Shipki Pass, Parigas, Sang, Taungsha, Puling-Sumdo, Chuva, Chuje, Sangcha and Lathpal and asserts that most of these places belong to China. It says that they were successively occupied by Indian personnel after the signing of the 1954 agreement. It welcomes the Indian Government's proposals for the frontier outposts of the two sides to stop sending out patrols, and says that this principle should apply to the entire Sino-Indian border and no different measure should be adopted in the Ladakh side.

The note expresses what it calls Chinese Government's perplexity that India had put forward a separate proposal for the prevention of clashes in the sector of the border between China and India's Ladakh. Citing the Chinese map of 1956 as the final authority of the border, it says "that except for the Parigas area by the Shangatsangpu river, India has not occupied any Chinese territory east of this section of the traditional boundary." It thinks India's proposal unfair because it demands "a change in the state actually existing on the border." Even the withdrawal of Indian troops too, to create "a no-man's land," the note says would only be a "theoretical concession" because it contends that the area is Chinese and India has no personnel to withdraw.

As for the historical data concerning the Sino-Indian boundary produced by the Indian side the Chinese Premier says that his Government thought the matter could be discussed by the two Prime Ministers in their talks when the Chinese could put their case. Since the talks between the two Prime Ministers have not yet taken place, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs will give a reply to Mr. Nehru's letter dated September 26 and Indian Ministry of External Affairs' communication dated November 4 in the near future.

The Chinese Government have, so far as the Ladakh area is concerned, rejected India's proposal to have a "no-man's land" by withdrawal of both the Chinese and the Indian armed forces asserting that the area belongs to China and the proof for it is that it has been under Chinese jurisdiction and not under India's jurisdiction. If the Indian Government insists on its demand, the note says, the Chinese Government would like to know whether the India Government would apply "the same principle to the eastern sector, that is to say, to require both the Chinese and Indian sides to withdraw all their personnel from the area between the so-called McMahon Line and the eastern section of the Sino-Indian boundary as shown in Chinese maps."

In one part of the letter the Chinese Government say that both the Ladakh incidents were provoked by India. They refer to the treatment given to the Indian personnel taken as prisoners by them. It says that India saying that China maltreated the captured personnel and that she provoked the incident is "a serious state of affairs."

The Summit Problems

The New York Times of December 6, gives the following editorial on the "East and West" issues:

The diplomatic traffic between Western capitals was heavy last week as the Allies grappled with the problems that have been threatening their unity. Chancellor Adenauer went to Paris for talks with President de Gaulle. Italian Premier Antonio Segni and Foreign Minister Giuseppe Pella went to London for talks with Prime Minister Macmillan and other British officials. The talks in both capitals proceeded against a steady refrain from Budapest where Premier Khrushchev gave voice to the Soviet position on a number of East-West issues.

The Western Big Four have reached tentative agreement that the summit agenda should have four points. They would be: Berlin, disarmament, non-interference in the affairs of other nations, and aid to under-developed countries. This is where matters stood in relation to the four points last week, and some of the things Premier Khrushchev had to say on them:

On *Berlin*, Dr. Adenaur and President de Gaulle confirmed in their Paris talks that the Berlin issue should not be taken up at an East-West summit conference except as part of the larger issue of Germany. The British have been arguing that an interim settlement on Berlin is possible only if it is divorced from the over-all German problem, since the Russians clearly are not willing to settle the German issue except on their own terms.

Premier Khrushchev said of a Berlin settlement last week:

If we try by all means and they do not lead to the desired results, we shall have no other way except signing a peace treaty with that of the two German states which will want to. . . . . A peace treaty must be signed and the status of a free city introduced for West Berlin.

On *disarmament*, there is general agreement among the Western powers that summit talks should take up a step-by-step disarmament program with effective controls at each step. The West Germans, however, have been concerned that a limited disarmament agreement on Europe might have the effect of disarming and neutralizing them.

In Rome yesterday, President Eisenhower and President Gronchi issued a joint communique expressing the determination of their Governments to ensure "an acceptable solution to the problem of disarmament" within the framework of a specific system of controls, inspection and safeguards.

Premier Khrushchev said last week that he agreed that disarmament was a major topic for summit talks. But while talking of disarmament, he brandished Soviet weapons. He said:

We have stockpiled such a quantity of rockets, so many atomic and hydrogen warheads, that if attacked we shall be able to raze to the ground all our potential enemies. . . . . . We are ready to destroy immediately all these stockpiles if a program for universal disarmament is adopted.

By "universal disarmament" Mr. Khrushchev clearly ment his own four-year disarmament plan in which controls would go into effect only after the program had been completed.

Non-interference: This is a delicate issue for the Allies since the Russians invariably attempt to interpret "non-interference" as meaning that the status quo in Eastern Europe must be accepted. It is precisely Soviet interference in Eastern Europe and attempted subversion elsewhere that the Allies seek to halt.

Aid to under-developed countries: This question has yet to be clearly defined as a topic for summit negotiation. President Eisenhower and General de Gaulle have both spoken of a program for aid to under-developed areas as a task for joint efforts by the great powers. Premier Khrushchev also has referred to the subject. But the Russians have always used aid to under-developed countries as a major weapon in their propaganda arsenal. Thus the difficulties in the way of a joint East-West aid program are immense.

The Neutral Antarctica

The New York Times of December 6, gives the following editorial on the question of the Antarctica claims.

Captain James Cook, master of the vessel Resolution, and the first man to penetrate south of the Antarctic Circle, wrote in 1774 of a continent "of horrid aspect . . . . doomed by nature never once to feel the warmth of the sun's rays, but to be buried in everlasting snow and ice."

The continent was Antarctica. In the years since Captain Cook's epic voyage, man's ambition has led to the conquest of the South Pole and to repeated explorations of the 5,000,000-square-mile continent. The most intensive period of Antarctic exploration came during the International Geophysical Year of 1957-1958 when eight nations, including the United States and Russia, sent expeditions there.

Out of the IGY explorations came efforts to write an international treaty establishing Antarctica as a preserve for scientific research. One of the complications was the fact that seven nations—Argentina, Australia, Britain, Chile, France, New Zealand and Norway—had claims to Antarctic territory, some of them overlapping.

Last week, after a year of negotiation, twelve nations signed an Antarctic treaty. In addition to the seven nations that have made territorial claims, the twelve include the United States, Russia, Japan, South Africa and Belgium. These are the main provisions of the treaty:

(1) The claims question is "frozen." No new claims may be made while the treaty is in force, and no activity in Antarctica can be used as a basis for strengthening present or potential claims.

(2) Antarctica is to be "used for peaceful purposes only." No military installations of any kind are to be established there. The area is not to be used either for the testing or stockpiling of nuclear weapons, nor for the disposal of radioactive waste.

(3) Any one of the signatories may inspect any area of Antarctica, including the activities and installations of other signatories, at will. This provision for unlimited, unilateral inspection is unique in international agreements.

The Antarctic treaty must be ratified by the signatory governments before it can go into effect. Last week President Eisenhower called the treaty a "significant advance toward the goal of a peaceful world." Others expressed the hope that the Antarctic treaty might provide a model for an agreement on outer space and possibly other international accords.

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AN ESTIMATE OF THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE FOR THE MIDDLE-EAST

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SUMMARY

WHAT is known as the Eisenhower Doctrine was proposed by Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the U.S.A., to the U.S. Congress on January 5, 1957, as a plan of economic, political and military action for protecting the Middle-East from any kind of Communist domination. Accepted by the Congress in the form of a resolution with certain modifications, it has been in operation since March, 1957.

As a Congressional resolution its legal effectiveness is slightly less than a regular international treaty approved in the U.S. Senate by a two-thirds majority, though the late John Foster Dulles maintained that the Congressional resolution here was equivalent to the treaty process. The Doctrine is based on the terrible ideology that the best way to be out of war is to be always on the brink of it. Intended primarily for the so-called "general area of the Middle-East", the Doctrine has had already the effect of militarising the outlook of the whole world.

The forces which led to its formulation are basically economic greed for the oil profits of the Middle-East, the growing strategic importance of the area in modern bi-polar politics and the general history and policies of the U.S.A. during the last four centuries till the invasion of the Suez Canal by Israel, Britain and France with apparently no serious opposition from the U.S.A.

This Doctrine of meeting force by force and by still greater force cannot give mankind true peace and prosperity, and should be countered by the Gandhian Doctrine of the World State or self-determination of the whole human race aiming at the ideal of meeting greed by sacrifice, hatred by love, violence by non-violence, untruth by truth, pride by service and disunity by unity. Thus alone can mankind escape from the recurring brinks of war in the present-day world and move towards the desired summit of Peace.

CONTENTS OF THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE

What is now known as the Eisenhower Doctrine was presented to the U.S. Congress by Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the U.S.A., in the shape of a plan of economic, political and military action for the Middle-East, in his famous speech on January 5, 1957. As adopted by the Congress after about three months of discussion, the Doctrine is contained in six sections. Under Section I, "To promote peace and stability in the Middle-East", the President of the U.S.A. is "authorized to co-operate with and assist any nation or group of nations in the general area of the Middle-East desiring such assistance in the development of economic strength dedicated to the maintenance of national independence." Under Section II, "The President is authorised to undertake, in the general area of the Middle-East, military assistance programmes with any nation or group of nations of that area desiring such assistance. Further, the United States regards as vital to the national interest and world peace preservation of the independence and integrity of the nations of the Middle-East. To this end, if the President determines the necessity thereof, the United States is prepared to use the armed forces to assist any such nation or group of nations requesting assistance against armed aggression from any country controlled by international communism; provided, that such employment shall be consonant with the treaty obligations of the United States and with the Constitution of the United States."

Section III of the Doctrine implies that all assistance under the Doctrine should be subordinated to the military purposes in accordance with the Mutual Security Act which was first adopted in 1951 on an annual basis and then placed on a permanent footing since 1954. As a matter of special urgency the President was authorised by the same Section to use during the balance of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, "for economic and military assistance under this joint resolution a sum not to exceed two hundred million dollars from any of the appropriations" then "available for carrying out the provisions of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, in accord with the provisions of such act". In his speech to the Congress on January 5, 1957, Eisenhower proposed to "seek in subsequent legislation the authorization of 200 million dollars to be available during each of the fiscal years 1958 and 1959, for discretionary use in the same area in addition to the other mutual security programmes for the area hereafter provided by the Congress."

To retain the Congress control over the discretionary powers of the President, Section III also provided that none of the additional authorisations contained in that Section should be used until fifteen days after the relevant Committees of the Congress had been furnished with the Report showing the object of proposed use, the country for benefit of which such use was intended, and the particular appropriation or appropriations for carrying out the provisions of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, from which the funds were proposed to be derived. The final paragraph in Section III stated that "nothing contained in this joint resolution shall be construed as itself authorizing appropriation of additional funds for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of" economic assistance under Section I or military assistance under Section II.

Section IV required that "The President should continue to furnish facilities and military assistance, within the provisions of applicable law and established policies, to the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle-East, with a view to maintaining the truce in that region". Section V required that "The President shall within the months of January and July of each year report to the Congress his action hereunder". Under Section VI, "This joint resolution shall expire when the President shall determine that the peace and security of the nations in the general area of the Middle-East are reasonably assured by international conditions created by the action of the United Nations or otherwise except that it may be terminated earlier by a concurrent resolution of the two Houses of Congress".[1]

NATURE OF THE DOCTRINE

In the original draft resolution there was a provision for explicit authority for the use of U.S. armed forces by the President in the Middle-East, an authority which the President already had under the constitutional law of the U.S.A., subject only to the authority of the Congress to bring him under impeachment proceedings in case of misuse of his power. The Doctrine adopted by the Congress only says that the U.S. is *prepared* to use the armed forces if the President determines the necessity thereof, so that it leaves the basic dilemmas of the area in regard to the use of U.S., armed forces there to be dealt with by the President always in fear of the extraordinary power of the U.S. Congress to subject him to impeachment proceedings later.

It is necessary to note a misconception regarding the Doctrine in the mind of the late John Foster Dulles, who, more than anyone else with only the probable exception of Eisenhower himself, has to be credited with the discovery and planning of the Doctrine. According to Dulles, under the constitutional process of the U.S., the Government there acts in foreign relations "either by treaty process or pursuant to a Congressional resolution'. U.S. commitments under the Doctrine, he said, "coincide" with the treaty commitments; and the U.S. Government were backing the Members of the Baghdad Pact, 1955 "by co-operative effort in the political, economic and military fields".[2]

Strictly speaking, there is no coincidence between the treaty process and the Congressional resolution in the U.S. The treaty process makes the obligation assumed by the U.S. binding on the U.S., and its President under both International Law and the Constitutional Law of the U.S. A Congressional resolution like the Eisenhower Doctrine imposes only a moral obligation on the President. Under the Eisenhower Doctrine there is no obligation at all under International Law, and the obligation of the U.S. President under the Constitutional Law of the U.S., is also not binding on him in the same way as a full Act of the Congress. A Congressional resolution is desired, first, to give strength to the President in his action if he acts at all which he is not bound to do, and, secondly, to avoid as much as possible any criticisms including impeachment proceedings in future if he should make wide use of his discretionary powers involving great risks and consequences.

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[1] *Public Papers of the President*, 1957: A U.S. Government publication. International Affairs, Moscow, April, 1957, pp. 164-166.

[2] Dulles's speech at the Baghdad Pact Council meeting on January 28, 1958.

Then why did not the U.S. act under the treaty process? The answer is to be found in the U.S. Constitution which requires that a treaty process to be valid at all must have the concurrence of the two-thirds of the Senators present; and unfortunately for Eisenhower and Dulles they had not that much support in the U.S. Senate for their controversial policy in respect of the Middle-East.

In a sense, the Eisenhower Doctrine is more or less redundant, unless of course, Eisenhower, impressed by Dulles's mistaken idea that the world has always been on the brink of war, wanted that a new orientation with an extra-ordinary emphasis on military ideals should be given to the role of the U.S.A. in world affairs. For under the Commander-in-Chief clause of the U.S. Constitution the President had all the powers implicitly in case of war or threat of war without any reference to any resolution by the U.S. Congress.

But Eisenhower in his Eisenhower Doctrine sought extra-ordinary powers specially for diverting large appropriations to military expenditure in the Middle-East and using even the forces of the U.S.A. in that region at a time when there was no war, but peace. Realising that the Constitution or existing treaties of the U.S.A. did not give him the extra-ordinary powers during peace, for any mis-use of which he might have to face even a Congressional impeachment, he sought through the Eisenhower Doctrine to silence all criticisms from the Congress in any risky adventure in the Middle-East.

MILITARISATION OF THE MIDDLE-EAST AND THE WORLD

Eisenhower thus got most of what he sought, *i.e.*, militarisation of the whole outlook of the U.S.A. in peace time, though he is not today absolutely free from the fear of impeachment. Through the Eisenhower Doctrine the U.S.A., has, by-passing to some extent the authority of the United Nations in such matters, virtually declared Martial Law during peace, and has thus subordinated to a great extent the civil power to the discretionary authority of the military power in the general area of the Middle-East—that great junction of three continents, Europe, Asia and Africa.

In effect it will be more and more seen that the Doctrine is intended for the world as a whole, and, even if not so intended, it will soon cover the whole world with the terrible ideology that the best way to be out of war is to be always on the brink of it. What, after all, is the Middle-East, or the stiil vaguer geographical concept, "the general area of the Middle-East" for whom alone the Doctrine is declared to be meant? No national or international law, not even the Eisenhower Doctrine ever defined the Middle-East. "Roughly, the region of the Middle-East stretches from the Western border of Egypt to the Western border of India and from the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea on the north to the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean in the south".[3] Obviously "the general area of the Middle-East" is wider than the Middle-East proper, and is vaguely but certainly purposely intended to cover the territories of some nations surrounding the so-called Middle-East. It certainly includes now independent states like Israel, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Iraq. But it may include Greece, Bulgaria, Turkey, Libya, Sudan, Afghanistan and Pakistan; and if Pakistan, why not India which is bounded on her eastern and western sides by the two wings of Pakistan. If Sudan is in the Middle East, why exclude Ethiopia? "Nations" in the Eisenhower Doctrine may also include the British Colony of Aden, Aden Protectorate, Sultanate of Bahrein Islands, Sheikdom of Kuwait, Sultanate of Oman and Masqat, Sheikdom of Quatar and Sheikdoms of the Trucial Coast!

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[3] *Annals*, July 1954, p. 151.

In his speech to the Congress on January 5, 1957 Eisenhower said that the U.S.A. had security treaties with forty-two other nations scattered all over the world. Under these security treaties if one nation is attacked, whatever may be the reason for the attack, others are obliged to rush to her defence. This obviously means that any local border conflict could be transformed into a world war by ambitious statesmen like Dulles who took a special delight in the political gymnastics of balancing on the brink of war.

Economic and Strategic Considerations

Economic considerations suggest that a commercial and industrial nation like the U.S.A. with what has been called an oil culture will find it difficult to resist the temptation to include all these areas in "the general area of the Middle East." It seems that the Middle East is literally floating on oil. It has underneath its area about two-thirds of the presently known oil deposits of the world.[4] The productivity of the Middle Eastern oil wells is several hundred times greater than those of U.S. wells. Indeed, the oil fields in the Middle East produce enormously and at low cost. Now, all the oil wells in the Middle East are owned by five American Companies, two British companies and one French Company. These eight companies send everyday about two million barrels of oil to markets all over the world. This is enough to explain Senator Kefauver's charge that the cloth of Eisenhower's programme for the Middle East is "primarily cut to fit the needs of the international oil companies, and that instead of oil being a factor in the formation of foreign policy, oil has, instead, become the dominating influence."[5]

These interests operating behind the Eisenhower Doctrine were reinforced by strategic considerations. Oil itself is of great strategic value, for the modern industrial scene is dominated by petroleum derivations, so that oil in the contemporary world is power, and military strategists regard a drop of oil as important as a drop of blood. Americans believe that in a state of affairs where war on a restricted scale is already in progress and one of unlimited scope might occur at any moment, oil as the first sinews of war possesses a significance beyond measurement in ordinary terms.

But the Middle East is important strategically not only for its oil wealth. In August 1951, Eisenhower told the Senate's Armed Services Committee: "As far as the sheer value of territory is concerned, there is no more strategically important area in the world than the Middle East."[6] A bridge between three continents and a springboard for conquerors moving from west to east or from east to west, the strategic position of the Middle East was as important in the time of Alexander the Great as during World War II. Peter the Great, Czar of Russia from 1682 to 1725, believed that anyone who ruled the Persian Gulf and the Black Sea would rule India and Europe.

According to Sir John Bagot Glubb, "If a circle be drawn with its centre on Jerusalem and a radius of 4,000 miles, it will include all three continents with the exception of China and Manchuria. In these days of air-travel, air-warfare and rockets distances in a direct line are of some importance......A great military power centrally established in the Middle East can thus strike into Europe, Asia or Africa at will. It can also prevent these continents from co-operating with one another. It could command the eastern Mediterranean nearly cutting off Europe from Africa. From the naval point of view, it could maintain fleets and submarines in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean from the same base in Egypt. It could also control the only invasion route into Africa (apart from the Atlantic coast) that is up the Nile and through the Sudan." Thus from a purely military point of view in case of war with rockets and atomic weapons it appears to Sir John Bagot Glubb that "talk of Egyptian, Syrain or Arab neutrality ......is too naive to require contradiction. These countries would fall a defenceless prey to whichever group of great powers arrived there first."[7]

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[4] Eisenhower's speech to the U.S. Congress on January 5, 1957.

[5] *International Affairs*, Moscow, June 1957, p. 148. Also, *P.S. Congressional Record*, March 1, 1957.

[6] *New York Times*, August 8, 1951.

HISTORICAL FORCES BEHIND THE DOCTRINE

The U.S.A. gave a special importance to these economic and strategic considerations being driven in the direction by her history and politics. America was unknown to the modern world until the end of the 15th century before the discoveries of Columbus and Americus Vespucious. Then began the remarkable process of colonization of America by the Europeans beginning with the Spanish in Florida in 1513 and followed mainly by the English, Germans, French, Scandinavians, Italians, Polish, Irish and Russians. Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries solved her problem of overpopulation by large-scale emigration mainly to North America. The British effected their settlements, as the Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking up Arms, July 6, 1775 put it, "in the distant and inhospitable wilds of America, then filled with numerous and warlike nations of barbarians."[8] "From the end of the 18th century to the beginning of the 20th century there were 110 wars against the Indians—the indigenous population of the two Americas. These predatory colonial wars led to the almost complete extermination of the numerous Indian tribes."[9] Thomas J. Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the U.S.A., observed in 1891: "The record which the nation" of the U.S.A. "has made for itself in this sanguinary conflict" during the past 100 years "is not one to be proud of."[10] Not less than 10 million Negroes were taken from Africa to the U.S.A. for brutal exploitation. These together with colonial wars against Mexico, Puerto Rico, Panama, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Colombia, Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic, the seizure of the Philippines and Cuba, and the First World War and Second World War in both of which the U.S.A. took a leading part using in 1945 against Japan even Atom Bombs,—all these seem to show that there is something wrong with the now-world civilisation. Perhaps that civilisation as well as its progenitor, the so-called Western civilisation with its highpriest, Machiavelli (1469-1527), has in it more of barbarism than of civilisation. The Eisenhower Doctrine with its basis on oil profits and emphasis on force going against the true law if not the so-called "new"[11] law of the United Nations is in direct line with European and American history during the last four centuries.

EVENTS IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING THE FORMULATION OF THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE

Following nationalisation of the Suez Canal by Egypt on July 26, 1956, which ultimately would have the effect of reducing the profits of all kinds for the Western Powers, there was a series of conferences and negotiations at all levels. Speaking at a session of the Second Suez Canal Conference in London on September 19, 1956, Dulles said: "I do not care how many words are written into the Charter of the

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[7] Sir John Bagot Glubb, *Britain and the Arabs*, p. 30.

[8] *Profile of America*, edited by Emily Davie, p. 267.

[9] *International Affairs*, Moscow, February, 1957, p. 61.

[10] *Profile of America*, edited by Emily Davie, p. 97.

[11] My paper entitled "Revision of the U. N. Charter" read at the Indian Political Science Conference at Muzaffarpur in December, 1954, and published in *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Oct-Dec., 1954.

U.N. about not using force......I would like to point out that the U.N. Charter itself does not say there must be peace...... The very first Article of the Charter says that the purpose of the U.N. is to bring about settlements by peaceful means and in conformity with principles of justice and international law........We have just as much a responsibility to try to seek a solution in conformity with the principles of justice and international law as we have a duty to prevent the use of force."[12] The concern of the Western Machiavellian statesmen then became to find out a common plan of action for rallying military forces to bring about a settlement which might or might not be peaceful, but had to be in conformity with the so-called law of the United Nations under the "Uniting For Peace" Resolution adopted by the General Assembly in November, 1950.

With Anglo-American connivance or secret suggestion[13] Israel opened war on Egypt by the invasion of the Sinai Peninsula on October 29, 1956. On the same day elaborate arrangements were made to evacuate from Jordon non-essential Americans and the U.S. Embassy also announced that evacuation of American citizens from Syria had been completed. Be it noted here that on October 28, 1956 Dulles said in a television interview that the U.S., Britain and France had "developed a common policy" to an "amazing degree" and that "certain minor superficial difficulties as to details . . . . . does not detract from the fact that we have a common policy".[14] Utilising the pretext of the Israeli offensive as a menace to the Suez Canal, Britain and France issued on October 30, 1956 a 12-hour's ultimatum demanding, first, that both Egypt and Israel should withdraw their forces to a distance of ten miles from either side of the Canal (which meant that Egypt should leave a clear field for the advancing Israeli forces), and, secondly, that Egypt should accept Anglo-French military occupation of Port Said, Ismailia and Suez. On October 31, 1956 Britain and France began attacking the attacked with an aerial bombardment of Egypt. On November 5, 1956 Anglo-French forces landed at Port Said and after a battle for the possession of the town proceeded to advance along the Canal.

Meanwhile at the headquarters of the United Nations Dulles in active co-operation, rather collusion, with Lester B. Pearson, Canada's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, played his trump by getting through the first Emergency Session of the General Assembly (November 1-10, 1956) a resolution approving on November 4, 1956 that a U.N. Police Force whose composition was subject to further negotiations be formed to keep the peace in the Middle-East. The obvious Western expectation was that like the U.S. forces in Korea since June 1950, British and French aggressors would somehow be recognized as United Nations Forces in the Middle-East, temporarily of course at the moment, but permanently in due course. This expectation, however, was not realised, as Egypt would not accept a U.N. Force of the aggressors and the "general will" of the whole human race also began to assert itself against any U.N. Force of the great Powers. A United Nations Emergency Force of small powers was then hurriedly formed to replace the British, French and Israeli aggressors. To give legal validity to this U.N.E.F. the Security Council had been brought to a session on a request from the U.S.A. on October 29, 1956 and Britain and France duly paralysed it by exercising on October 30, 1956 their vetoes on a U.S. resolution which called on all nations, specially Israel and Egypt but not directly Britain and France to refrain from any threat or use of force against the U.N. Charter.

When Dulles flew to London on August 1, 1956, the prospect was one of war in 24 or 48 hours, and Dulles claimed that only his intervention postponed this. Well, time was an important factor in this seemingly great historic conspiracy and the whole show appears to have been so arranged as to suit Eisenhower's election prospects at the U.S.A.'s Presidential election on November 6, 1956. Perhaps, the time factor had also something to do with the Western Plan of a U.N.E.F. meant for Hungary. On November 1 and 2, 1956, the U.N. Secretary-General received two cables from the Hungarian Premier, Imre Nagy. The first requested help in defending Hungary's neutrality and asked that the Hungarian situation be placed on the agenda of the forthcoming General Assembly. The second cable asked the Security Council to instruct the Soviet and Hungarian Governments to start negotiations immediately for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. If Nagy was not replaced by Kadar on November, 4, 1956, a U.N.E.F. would have gone to Hungary also as to the Middle-East. For arrangement was made for a Second Emergency Session of the General Assembly (November 4-10, 1956) on the Hungarian issue also after a Soviet veto in the Security Council on a U.S. resolution calling on Russia to cease intervention in Hungary.

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[12] *The Statesman*, Calcutta, September 21, 1956.

[13] *The Record on Suez*: A Chronology of Events, compiled and published by the *Manchester Guardian*, November 1956, p. 10.

[14] *Facts on File*, 1956, p. 367.

The two crises, one in Hungary and the other in the Middle-East, were thus joined together by the jingoists to bring the world to a most terrible brink of war. The brink became more terrible when on November 5, 1956 the Russian Premier, Bulganin issued his famous threat: "Were rocket weapons used against Britain and France, you would most probably call this a barbarous action. But how does the inhuman attack launched by the armed forces of Britain and France against a practically defenceless Egypt differ from this?" It is difficult to imagine that with the world on such a terrible brink of war, Eisenhower's Presidential rival, Adlai Ewing Stevanson, without any comparable military qualification, could have a fair chance of getting himself elected.

Due care was, of course, taken to see that the world was carried back from that extraordinary brink of war, at least temporarily. From August 7, 1956 till almost the beginning of the Suez war, Eisenhower kept himself in touch with Bulganin through a series of correspondence regarding disarmament. The latest in this series was written by Eisenhower to Bulganin on October 21, 1956. In this Eisenhower expressed his hope that "direct communication between us may serve the cause of peace". Speaking in a nation-wide radio-television report on October 31, 1956 about the Suez crisis, Eisenhower showed only his verbal or formal opposition to the Anglo-French attack which he then characterised only as an action "taken in error". When on November 5, 1956 the U.S.S.R. proposed in the Security Council that enforcement action be taken against the aggressors under Article 42 of the U.N. Charter and expressed its readiness to send to Egypt its air and naval forces, the U.S. delegate shrank from a duty under the Charter observing: "The Soviet draft resolution embodies an unthinkable suggestion that Soviet military forces, together with those of the U.S. should be sent to the fighting in Egypt unless the fighting stops within 12 hours".[15] Fortunately for the human race, world public opinion backed by the Russian threat and the financial difficulties of Britain and France forced the aggressors to retreat in time. Such however are the imperfections of the present law of the U.N. that nobody was penalised nor even censured, for this international robbery in broad day-light against Egypt. Only the U.N.E.F. composed of contingents from small powers has been guarding the Egyptian-Israeli border since November, 1956.

When it was found that the public opinion even in the imperfect organization of the General Assembly of the U.N. would not tolerate British and French forces in the Middle-East, Eisenhower in the name of his Eisenhower Doctrine thought of running his part of the relay race by carrying the U.S. forces to the general area of the Middle-East, wherefrom the British and French forces were forced to withdraw, so recently trembling not only in fear but also in shame. From this point of view the Eisenhower Doctrine is an attempt to fulfil the Western policy of aggression in the Middle-East, and through the Middle-East, the whole world. This led Khrushchev as early as January 13, 1957 to declare that "American imperialism" was attempting to penetrate the Middle-East "to replace" the "decrepit British lion" which "lost his tail in Egypt".[16] Khrushchev did not hesitate to predict at the same time that the Eisenhower Doctrine would break against the "granite rock" of Russian strength and be "thrown on the garbage heap of history".

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[15] *United Nations Review*, December 1956, p. 38.

[16] *Facts on File*, 1957, p. 10.

About a year and a half after the enunciation of the Eisenhower Doctrine, it was put to its most serious test when in the midst of complaints and counter-complaints, specially between Lebanon and the United Arab Republic of Egypt and Yemen formed in February, 1958, Eisenhower on July 15, 1958 sent U.S. forces into Lebanon. This time Britain, but not France, acted with the U.S.A. by sending troops almost simultaneously into Jordon. In this "grave hour", "this terrible", "the most serious" moment in human history,[17] the Security Council failed to do anything substantial because of a U.S. veto and then the issue was shunted to the Third Emergency Session (August 7-21, 1958), of the General Assembly, after a Russian call for a Summit Meeting was cleverly avoided. On August 21, 1958, the General Assembly brought about an agreement among the Arab States themselves demanding the withdrawal of all British and American forces from the area. The Arab States also agreed on a principle of non-interference in internal affairs. But in the confusion that was created Iraq lost, among many others, its Ruler and Premier, King Feisal II and Nuri al-Said, and withdrew from the Baghdad Pact of 1955, even though under Article 7 the Pact was to remain in force for at least five years. The Pact has now been renamed as the Central Treaty and continues to function with the membership of Britain, Pakistan, Iran and Turkey.

Lebanon in July and August, 1958 is only an outstanding illustration of how the Eisenhower Doctrine operates. But in a subtler sense this Doctrine of meeting force with force, nay, force with greater force, has been in continuous operation in a historic way. It is unnecessary here to collect numerous other facts regarding the operation of the Eisenhower Doctrine. It is enough to say that it is now military men and military ideas that predominate in the Middle-East, indeed in the whole world.

A REPLY TO THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE

Yet it is not difficult to see how terrible is the mistake in accepting or following the Eisenhower Doctrine which puts its faith on force and still greater force. Khrushchev said to the General Assembly of the U.N. on September 18, 1959: "Never in history had so many states, so many peoples, been drawn into military preparations as at present. The annual military expenditure of all states totalled $100,000 million. The money spent by the states in the past decade for military needs should be enough to build over 150 million homes. General and complete disarmament would also render new opportunities to aid under-developed states".[18]

It is difficult for any statesman of the U.S.A. to accept such an advice about disarmament or non-violence, specially when the advice comes from the leader of a Communist Government which has no faith in non-violence.* Yet while the whole Western world was violently defending human rights, a nobler way of fighting evils was shown by Mahatma Gandhi in his non-violent approach to the World War II. Of course, there was weakness in his followers, even in himself. It was non-violence of the weak which was practised in effect by the majority in India. It is because of such weakness that when India achieved her freedom, it was essentially a freedom divided by two. We got two nations in India, Indian Union and Pakistan, each with separate membership in an undemocratic United Nations at New York, without being United Nations at heart in Dacca and Calcutta, Delhi and Karachi or Rawalpindi. This so-called United Nations where the Western powers predominate cannot solve our problems, whether it is Kashmir, Korea Formosa, Israel or South Africa.[19] Nasser in his own imperfect way has been trying to correct various mistakes or weaknesses of the Middle Eastern peoples. He has already persuaded Egypt, Syria and Yemen to form some sort of a United Nations, not only in political structure but also at heart, and has been able to reduce the national boundaries into mere administrative ones. If other States of the Middle-East, yes, the whole East of Asia and Africa, also formed a democratic United Nations with individual as the unit of representation with a view to meeting greed by sacrifice, hatred by love, violence by non-violence, untruth by truth, pride by service, and a disunity by unity, then if the Western powers lead their crusade even to Jerusalem or Mecca, or even further East, we shall be able to meet them by saying that those who live by the sword or Atom Bomb will perish by them. The democratic United Nations thus formed may be under-developed, but certainly not under-civilised. It should be kept open for others to join it until it embraces all parts of the world and becomes the Federal, Democratic and Socialist World State, which representing an L.C.M. of all political ideals[20] looks like the inevitable destiny of mankind, indeed, in Hegelian terms, the march of God on earth. This Doctrine of the World State or Self-determination of the Human race was supported by Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian National Congress in the Quit India Resolution of August, 1942 and, when realised in an effective form, it wll be the best answer to the Eisenhower Doctrine of general militarisation of mankind. This, and nothing else, can take mankind away from the recurring brinks of war towards the summit of Peace and thus save us all from an atomic crucifixion by the jingoists masquerading under the garb of the so-called Western civilization.†

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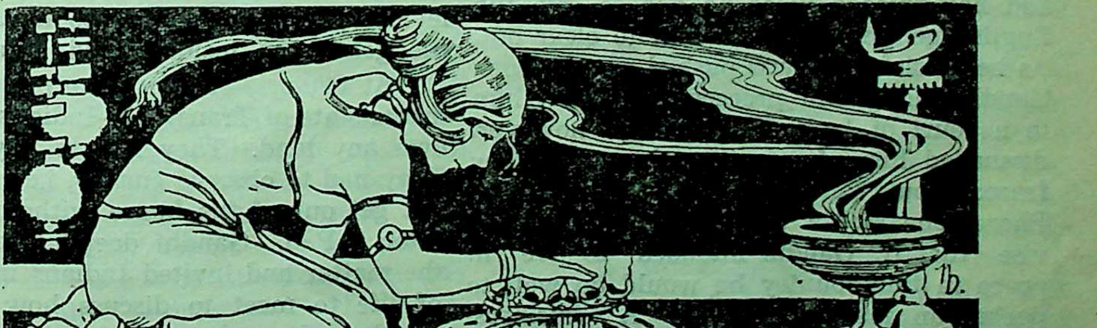
[17] Khrushchev's letters to Eisenhower, Macmillan, De Gaulle, Nehru and Hammarskjoeld on July 19, 1958.

[18] *The Statesman*, Calcutta, September 19, 1959.

* A typical Russian attitude towards violence and non-violence may ba noted in Khrushchev's warning to the West on April 19, 1957, against West-inspired rebellion within the Soviet bloc. He said: "Don't try to test us as you did in Hungary—with the putsch. You think of doing it not in Hungary, but also in East Germany. Be careful! we are not saints and if necessary, we can rap your knuckles." *Facts on File*, 1957, p. 129.



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[19] My paper on "Kashmir Problem and the United Nations," published in *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, January 1958. The paper was read at the Indian Political Science Conference at Poona in December, 1957.

[20] My paper on "Implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights", published in *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, October 1949. Also, my papers on "The Problem of Disarmament in the World Today," published in *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, April 1957 and "Disarmament and the Role of the Secretary-General of the United Nations," published in *The Indian Journal of Political Science*. 1957 and "The World State: Why and How?" published in *The Calcutta Review*, Calcutta, May 1953.

† A paper accepted for discussion at the 22nd Annual Conference of the Indian Political Science Association at Jaipur under the auspices of the Rajasthan University during the Christmas, 1959.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

By JOGES C. BOSE

I

So at last mother agreed to Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi leaving for England to study Law. She was, however, meticulously careful to make him vow to three things, namely, he would not eat meat, touch wine, and would not look upon a woman except as though she were a mother.

Gandhi, in England, strayed off the beaten path of austerity. In an all-out effort to be a gentleman, he had suits made in Bond Street, had his hair cropped like a dandy in costly saloons and spent a fairly good sum of money for lessons in violin and dancing. In one lucid flash, however, he was one day stung with remorse for playing fast and loose with money, his brother sweated hard to provide for him. All at once he resolved to take to rigid economy. He began life the hard way, practising frugality in all matters to the extent that he bought a stove and cooked his own food.

Three years after, Gandhi came back to India as a Barrister-at-Law and joined the Bombay High Court. The misfortune of what it is to belong to a subject race was brought home to him in a rather telling manner. His brother, in difficulty with the British Political Agent at Rajkot, sought him to intercede, as he happened to know him in England. Before Gandhi had half-finished what he had to say, the English gentleman asked him to clear out. As he persisted, he was pushed out of doors. Gandhi thought of proceeding against him in a court of law. His friends, however, dissuaded him from it, which, as they feared, would land them in further troubles. Pherozesha Mehta was one of those to advise that if Gandhi intended to live in peace in this country he would do well to pocket an insult like that.[1] A business-house of Porbundar, where Gandhi was born on 2nd October, 1869, engaged him to assist them in some legal matters in South Africa for a term of one year.

Most Indians went to South Africa as indentured labourers for a term of five years. After the term was over, they continued to work on their own account. So an Indian was, to all intents and purposes, a cooly to an Englishman. Gandhi likewise was called 'a cooly barrister'. The first day at Durban, as he went into a court-room to see how cases were being conducted there, the Magistrate peremptorily asked him to put off his turban. Gandhi retired from the room rather than submit to the insulting dictation. On his way from Durban to Pretoria, where he was due to stay, he was thrown bag and baggage from a first class railway compartment, even if he had the necessary ticket. He gathered that it was so for the one simple reason that a white-man intended to board the coach and he would not suffer an Indian to travel with him. Further up the journey, he was told that his ticket for the stage coach was cancelled, because there were white men seated inside. He accepted the offer and sat by the side of the coachman. After they had gone some distance, the coachman's assistant bade him step down to sit on the dirty board underneath their feet. As he refused, he was belaboured without let or hindrance. It was so unsightly that the gentlemen inside called him in.

At Pretoria—and for the matter of that in the state of Transvaal—Indians could not own any land. They had to pay poll tax. They had to observe curfew, i.e., they coul not get out of the house without a permi after 9 P.M. Gandhi deeply thought ove the matter and invited Indians in all walk of life to meet to discuss how best the could end such an intolerable state o things. He asked them to stand shoulder t shoulder to fight for a human treatmen An Association to take up what affecte Indians as a class was formed. As Gandhi year of contract came to expire he was prevailed upon to stay at least till when the Natal Government abandoned its intention to pass a bill, of which it had just notified, denying Indians their right to vote. They offered to compensate him monetarily, but he declined to accept any money for his service to the community. To make both ends meet, he, therefore, settled at Durban for practice and from there he would fight out the disabilities, which were being imposed upon Indians in devastating succession.

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[1] Edward VII, when travelling in India as Prince of Wales, wrote his mother home that Indians were being insulted by Englishmen a bit too often.

The Natal Indian Congress was founded in 1894 with Gandhi as Secretary. Instantly he proved its life and soul. Since now, the Indians took heart and began to assert themselves. It was obvious that the struggle was going to be long and arduous. Gandhi, therefore, came back to India to take his wife and two sons to make their home with him in South Africa. On their way back, as the ship neared the port, deafening shouts of 'Gandhi go back' greeted them from a vast crowd of white people. It was so menacing that the Captain did not let them get down the ship. In fact, Mrs. Gandhi and her sons were escorted home under cover of night. And then as it looked that the hostile crowd had dispersed, Gandhi made for his residence. Some one must have recognised him and raised the cry 'Gandhi, Gandhi.' Immediately, as though some infernal spirits were let loose, white people gathered round him thick and fast. He was punched, kicked, beaten black and blue. But for the intervention of the wife of the Superintendent of Police, as she happened to pass by, Gandhi would have fared far worse.

Gandhi, barely twenty-eight, had by the time changed a tremendous lot and would not yield to the Superintendent of Police pressing him to help arrest the miscreants for trial. Punishment, said Gandhi with disarming candour, was no cure for the ills of the kind. Such a mental frame-up was wrought in him, amongst other things, by a devout study of Tolstoys' *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* and Ruskin's *Unto This Last*. They made for simple living, hard work and the eschewing of violence in acts and utterances. His honest square deal attracted all and sundry. Those who sought justice with clean hands in a Court of Law flocked to him and he picked up a good practice. But all the same, he devoted quite good hours each day in furtherance of the cause, for which he had agreed to stay in South Africa.

The crucial test came as the Boer War broke out. His innate sympathy was with the Boers. But as he was demanding the rights of a British citizen, he felt it was morally incumbent upon him to help the British. A vast section resented this and would not easily yield. He took great pains to conquer their apathy and an Ambulance Corps over one thousand strong was organised. The Indian stretcher-bearers never fought shy of the fire line, from which they carried the wounded to the hospital. On occasions they marched twenty to twenty-five miles with their precious load of the wounded. Their courage and the spirit of service elicited the admiration of even those who had hitherto viewed Indians with an insuperable aversion. Lord Lansdowne, Secretary of State for War, told a Sheffield audience that 'of all the misdeeds of the Boers, none filled him with so much anger as treatment of the Indians in the Transvaal'. It, however, evaporated as the victory was won.

As a result of British victory, the Boer countries of Orange Free State and the Transvaal came under British rule. Things for the Indians, Gandhi hoped, would now change for the better. He left South Africa after eight years of hard devoted labours for the Indian cause to stay home. Before, however, he left South Africa he made over by a trust-deed all gifts in silver, gold and diamond to be deposited with a bank to help achieve the goal of equal rights for Indians. He also gave them the promise that if they needed him badly enough he would be by their side.

Gandhi came back to India and took up practice at Bombay. Things prospered for him but the quiet tenor of a personal life was not in his line. By the end of 1902, i.e., when he had been in India for only a year, he received a telegram from South Africa needing him desperately in view of the British Colonial Secretary Chamberlain's impending visit. Gandhi broke up his establishment at a moment's notice and went back to South Africa. Chamberlain gave a cold shoulder to the Indian Deputation and admonished Indians to placate the Europeans. Gandhi realised that Philip sober or Philip drunk made no difference and the Indian question was not to resolve in months. He called for his wife and family and plunged headlong into the task he had set for himself. Along with the practice of law, he conducted a paper called *The Indian Opinion* and ran a farm, named after Tolstoy. His family and many other co-workers lived there on the principle of absolute equality and no personal wealth.

His first head-on-clash with the Government was over the Registration Ordinance making it compulsory for every Indian above eight to register his or her name and carry the card just as the license of automobiles—females were later on excluded. A long struggle of Passive Resistance—*Satyagraha* as Gandhi called it—ensued. Gandhi suffered imprisonment and so did thousand other Indians. They suffered all kinds of privations not excluding starvation at times. A good many succumbed to the ordeal. What held his followers so mightily is their loyalty to Gandhi. He never shirked or excused himself doing things he asked others to do. The epic struggle was at last crowned with success by the passing of the Asiatic Relief Bill. It repealed the poll tax and the Registration Ordinance, and accepted the validity of Indian marriage. In July 1914, Gandhi sailed for home with the tale of his unique dedication running ahead of him to inspire love and faith.

II

Gopal Krishna Gokhale amongst leaders of India was in vital affectionate touch with Gandhi in South Africa. As Gandhi came back to India, he referred to Gokhale, whom he called 'a sure pilot', regarding his future activities. Gokhale enjoined on him to do nothing of politics for one year and spend it as a year of probation travelling throughout the country to gain first-hand knowledge of things. Gandhi travelled third class; and here was the real India revealed to him—incredibly poor, steeped in prejudice and superstition but sensitively mobile. What possibly struck him most was that even if so rugged she is inordinately tender to the ethical value of asceticism. As the C.I.D. people invariably bothered him with questions of all kinds, the fellow passengers, though utterly lacking in a sense of collective life, resented their instrusion upon a *Sadhu*, they took him to be.

In May 1915, Gandhi founded an *Ashram*, some five miles away from Ahmedabad. It came to be known as the *Sabarmati Ashram* from the name of the river flowing close by. Almost immediately after he was put to test, inasmuch as a family of 'untouchables' applied to be enrolled as members desiring to live in the *Ashram*. In so far as Gandhis were concerned, there could be no flicker of objection. Other inmates followed their example and did not object. In fact, they accepted to help remove untouchability from Hindu society as their creed. Gradually as Gandhi gained in weight and importance, the *Sabarmati Ashram* became the nerve-centre of India.

In the 1916 Lucknow Congress, a few peasants of Champaran (Bihar) came all the way to meet him to apprise him of the low degrading conditions in which they had to cultivate indigo for Europeans. One condition of their tenancy was that a tenant could not walk with an open umbrella in the vincinity of a planter's bungalow. Some Bihar leaders rose equal to the occasion and with their active co-operation Gandhi offered *Satyagraha*. The Government intervened with a suitable legislation to redress their grievances. But alongside, Gandhi initiated the villagers into lessons of self-help. They started schools, opened medical centres, practised sanitation and took to a cleaner standard of life. He was next requisitioned to rescue the peasants of Khaira, district Guzrat.

They were in the grip of a terrible famine and had defaulted to pay Government tax, as a result of which their properties were being confiscated. He started a no-tax campaign with the inevitable consequence of imprisonment and forfeiture of properties. Buyers, however, were not forthcoming and the labour refused to obey the orders to execute the decree. The Government gave in.

In the meantime The First Great War was in full swing and not without some reverses for England. Lord Chelmsford, the Governor General, invited Gandhi, amongst some other Indian leaders, to a conference to work out ways and means how best to help England. Gandhi agreed to raise recruits. What inspired Gandhi is what he gave vent to in his letter to Chelmsford. "I recognise," he wrote, "that in the hour of its danger, we must give, as we have decided to give, ungrudging and unequivocal support to the Empire of which we aspire in the near future to be partners in the same sense as the Dominions overseas." What blind faith Gandhi had in the ethics of the Empire—and in it is discernible the influence of Gokhale—is clear from the following in his letter to Surendranath Banerjea, "We must perceive that if we serve to save the Empire, we have in that very act secured Home Rule." It sounds fantastic; but that it was his *bonafide* conviction is also clear from what he said in April 1915 at the Madras Law Dinner. "It gives me," he said, "the greatest pleasure to redeclare my loyalty to the British Empire. . . . . I discovered that the British Empire had certain ideals with which I have fallen in love." In his exacting campaign for recruits he penetrated into far-off villages and very nearly ravaged himself. He was, in his words, at 'death's door' from an attack of dysentery. It is significant that in one of the leaflets, Gandhi issued from time to time asking people to enlist as recruits, he said much to the annoyance of the bureaucracy, "Among the many misdeeds of British rule in India, history will look upon the Act depriving a whole nation of arms as the blackest." Here, Gandhi summed up his stand-point, was the opportunity to learn the use of arms.

While yet pinned to bed, he got the news that the War had ended in a victory for England. But he was hardly on the way to his normal health, when he was taken aback to read the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee, appointed to investigate the causes and cure of Indian unrest, depriving Indians of the semblance of civil liberty they had. They were such, said Gandhi, that no self-respecting people would submit to them—mere possession of a seditious document was punishable with imprisonment. And, was not promoting disaffection against the Government the gist of sedition? To what extent it would go was anticipated when 'disaffection' could be judicially interpreted, as in Tilak's case, as 'absence of affection.' Ballavbhai Patel, Sarojini Naidu, Anasuya Behn, Umar Sobhani and a few others pressed Gandhi to do something immediately. They all signed the *Satyagraha* pledge to undo the great insult that was being done to India, which had just bled herself white for England.

We would better pause to consider the ruling power's primary reaction to Gandhi. There can hardly be a better authenticated document for this than *India 1919*: "Since his stand in South Africa," to quote a few lines of this Blue Book, "he has commanded among his countrymen all the traditional reverence with which the East envelopes a religious leader of acknowledged asceticism. . . . . His admirers are not confined to any religious sect. His readiness to take up the cudgels on behalf of any individual or class whom he regards as being oppressed has endeared him to the mass of his countrymen . . . . He is regarded with a reverence for which adoration is scarcely too strong a word." When such a man sounded the clarion call it passed for the fiat of a Messiah and echoed throughout the nook and corner of India. She was called upon to observe 6th of April 1919 as a national day. Bombay celebrated it by a congregational bath in the sea, by a mammoth protest meeting and selling literature, proscribed on national grounds.

Gandhi, on his way to Amritsar, was arrested at an intermediary station, because, Sir Michael O'Dyer had banned his entry into the Punjab. He was taken back to Delhi and released. The excited millions formed into a procession in his honour. This was obstructed by the mounted Police piercing through the seething mass and trampling under foot a good many. There was also for him disturbing news from other parts of India. In Calcutta there was a clash between the people and the police firing six of them dead and many others wounded. At Ahmedabad, the mill-hands had struck work and broke into violence and the city was put under martial law. Immediately as Gandhi reached Ahmedabad, he was taken to the house of the Dy. Commissioner, who listened to his advice and allowed him to hold a public meeting, where Gandhi counselled peace and order. On that very day the martial law was withdrawn and quiet restored.

Here now was to Gandhi a dilemma of singular complexity. There was the appeal of a section of the people to suspend *Satyagraha*, which, they said, would lead the country to anarchy, confusion, misery and ruin. There was the other section pleading with as much plausibility that if uniform peace throughout the length and breadth of India was a condition precedent to mass *Satyagraha*, he would have to wait for eternity and better not talk of it in future. With cool deliberation Gandhi confessed to having made a 'Himalayan miscalculation' and suspended the *Satyagraha*. He said it was wrong of him to have asked the people to work up to the potentials of civil disobedience without being sure that they had understood its deep ethical import. Such an unwary step at the very start would have finished any other man but Gandhi, who had, by reason of his character, anchored deep into the heart of million Indians. He was, Tagore assessed him, 'Truth itself as distinguished from quotations.'

In tune with Sir Michael banning Gandhi's entry into the Punjab, the Dy. Commissioner of Amritsar summoned Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew—they were organising the Congress session, due to be held at Amritsar in the ensuing December—to his bungalow and from there drafted them to an unknown destination. It was too severe a strain on the imagination running apace of the people. A large crowd made for the Dy. Commissioner's residence to ascertain their whereabouts. They were rolled back under volleys of buckshots. The victims were then carried in procession and the infuriated mob set fire to some buildings tenanted by Englishmen and killed five of them. The city was handed over to the military.

Winston Churchill denounced in the House of Commons some of the acts committed by the military, as standing in 'sinister isolation.' One of these to tower head and shoulders over the rest is what General Dyer did on the 13th of April 1919. He shot down unarmed men, women and children, who had gathered at the annual religious fair at Jallianwallabag after having barred the exits. His plea was that they had disobeyed his order under section 114 of the Criminal Procedure Code forbidding the assemblage of more than five persons without permission. He admitted before the Hunter Committee that it was quite possible that most of these people had come from villages and were not aware of the order. Even then, as the crowd broke pell-mell on the first shot, he kept up, as Valentine Chirol says, a relentless fusillade for ten consecutive minutes.[2] Major Carbury bombed and strafed Gurjanwalla by machine guns from airplanes. Colonel O'Brien said that he fired at the crowd 'wherever found'

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[2] There was a body of evidence for which C. R. Das, M. R. Jayakar and others were for incorporating into the Congress Report that Dyer had trapped the unwary crowd into the park for an exemplary punishment. Gandhi, who was in charge of the Report, set his face against it, because, the evidence, he argued, could be assailed in one respect or the other. This is how the world is spared a still more shocking version of Jallianwallabag.

People were publicly flogged;[3] women made to stand in rows and spat upon. Boys of sixteen to twenty were made to march under the boiling sun of May up to sixteen miles in some cases, in order to salute the British flag. Indians passing by a particular thoroughfare, where an English woman was done to death despite some Indians running to her rescue at the risk of their lives, were made to crawl up and down the whole length of it on their belly. Quarter Master General Hudson in the cool, composed astomosphere of the Indian Legislative Council gave a demonstration of the feat to the amusement of the English members breaking into laughter. An imbecile Governor General sat by in the presidential chair in statuesque immbolity.

All reports were gagged. The Punjab episode, however, trickled out in gruesome details, as the ban on the egress and regress of the people was partly lifted. Rabindranath Tagore stepped forward renouncing his Knighthood as 'the very least,' he said, he could do in giving voice to the protest of his million countrymen, 'surprised into a dumb terror of anguish.' Rev. C. F. Andrews hurried to the lacerated Punjab, where, he said, Britain had in cold blood committed a crime, 'much blacker than the massacre of Glencoe.' Pundit Madanmohan Malavya, Swami Shraddhananda, Motilal Nehru, C. R. Das and Gandhi were amongst those to hurry up to Amritsar. They examined the position and declared that Hunter Committee was not justifying of confidence. A Congress Committee was formed with Gandhi to organise an Enquiry. It was during the on-the-spot study of the situation that Gandhi first realised that the fear of the loss of India would make Britain abandon the basic principle of civilized being and in no time cast to the wind all canons of justice and fair play.

And yet at the Amritsar Congress, Gandhi 'begged loyally to respond,' as he said, 'to the sentiments of the Royal Proclamation,' ushering in the Montford Reforms. He went so far as to move to delete the word 'disappointing' from the Resolution of C. R. Das, who was originally for rejecting the Reforms. In five months' time the Report of the Hunter Committee exasperated India to a man. The observation of the level-headed Montagu that General Dyer had committed an 'error of judgement' but 'acted to the best of his light and sincerity of purpose' was a rude shock to India. The House of Lords would not even suffer the halting denunciation of this crime against humanity. The wife of a Calcutta Barrister raised funds to cover with silver the blood-stained hands of General Dyer. All these smacked of race hauteur and were like rubbing Indian wounds with salt. India was up to the neck with a revulsion of feeling. Gandhi took to exercising himself in terms of Non-co-operation.

The Non-co-operation Resolution was first passed in the Khilafat Conference at Meerut and then at the Gujrat Provincial Conference, Gandhi taking the lead in either. Then in September 1920, Gandhi led India launch Non-co-operation at a special session of the Congress in Calcutta, Lala Lajpat Rai presiding.

Were it the Punjab wrong, perpetrated and condoned with a headlong wantonness, which abruptly changed Gandhi from what he was vis-a-vis Britain to what he now became, smelling 'insidious poison' in everything of her 'satanic Government' in India, the swift, decisive measure, he proposed, is understandable. The mystery deepens as he says that it was England's betrayal in the matter of Khilafat, that made him make 'the final choice.[4] A new-born Turkey dropped Khilafat, the symbol of stone-dead theocracy as a clog in the wheel of progress. "England," says H. C. Armstrong in his *Grey Wolf: Mustafa Kemal*,[5] "the crafty, subtle enemy, who failed to destroy the Turks by the Greeks, was at her intrigues again using the Indian Moslems and Aga Khan to split the Turks into two camps." To have seized the precipitate Khilafat at the time gave a new fillip to pan-Islamism,[6] British rule had avidly nursed to prevent a national merger of the Hindus and Moslems. The inexorable destiny was that as the Khilafat died a natural death, the Moslem frustration revenged itself by a blind communalism. Some of the top rank Khilafat leaders, who swore by Gandhi and ran into hysterics over his name, had now no scruples whatsoever to call him a *Kafir*—the hateful unbeliever. But back to our theme.

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[3] On the point, M. R. Jayakar says in his *The Story of My Life*—"One of them, a small boy became senseless after the fourth stripe but after some water was poured into his mouth he regained consciousness. Flogging was then resumed. He lost consciousness for a second time, but the flogging was not stopped till he was given thirty stripes. He was then taken off the flogging post bleeding and quite unconscious."

It was accepted that to make the Non-co-operation Resolution finally operative, they would wait for the Nagpur Congress in the following December, when by the time the country would have fully considered it in all aspects. The Nagpur President Vijayragavachari was instrumental in making Non-co-operation hinge on the issue of the greatest of wrongs, the denial of Swaraj to India. At Nagpur, C. R. Das, Lajpat Rai and others, who were not wholly in its favour in Calcutta, gave Gandhi an unqualified support. He was acclaimed as the leader long awaited.

III

The Non-co-operation spelt a complete rout of the old school leaders. They now seceded from the Congress, they had untiringly built up, and took to spoon-feeding the Montford Reforms, which yielded for a good many of them a rich harvest. Surendranath Banerjea, Provash C. Mitter, C. Y. Chintamoni, Lala Harkissen Lall were amongst those to be ministers; Lord Sinha was made Governor of Bihar and Orissa; B. N. Sarma and Tejbahadur Sapru were made Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council; C. C. Ghose was made a judge of the Calcutta High Court; Sreenivas Sastry was made a British Agent for the Dominions; and Bhupendranath Bose was taken over as Member to the Secretary of State's India Council. The old stalwarts, now absorbed into the bureaucracy, left the field open to Gandhi and a new set of leaders. They attacked the Montford Reforms from a pointblank range.

The Non-co-operation swept past India with the rapidity of a hurricane. Some over thirty thousand souls were clapped in jail for offering civil disobedience. Gandhi resolved to start a no-tax campaign at Bardoli. There were, however, sporadic riots and other acts of lawlessness. What happened at Chaurichaura was sufficient by itself to make Gandhi scan and reflect. Angry peasants broke open the jail and set fire to the Police Station burning to death some policemen. This was reminscent of the storming of the Bastile. Gandhi called off the Civil Disobedience.[7] But he was put to trial to answer the charge of sedition.

Three articles of Gandhi's *Young India* "The Puzzle and its Solution," "Tampering with Loyalty" and "Shaking the Manes" were cited as tokens of his guilt. In pleading guilty Gandhi declared, "I am here to invite and submit to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me for what in Law is a deliberate crime but what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen." Gandhi was given a sentence of six years. After two years he was operated for appendicitis—no easy operation in those days—and released. Eight months after, he went on a fast for twenty-one days in order to expiate the sin of the Hindus and the Moslems breaking each other's head

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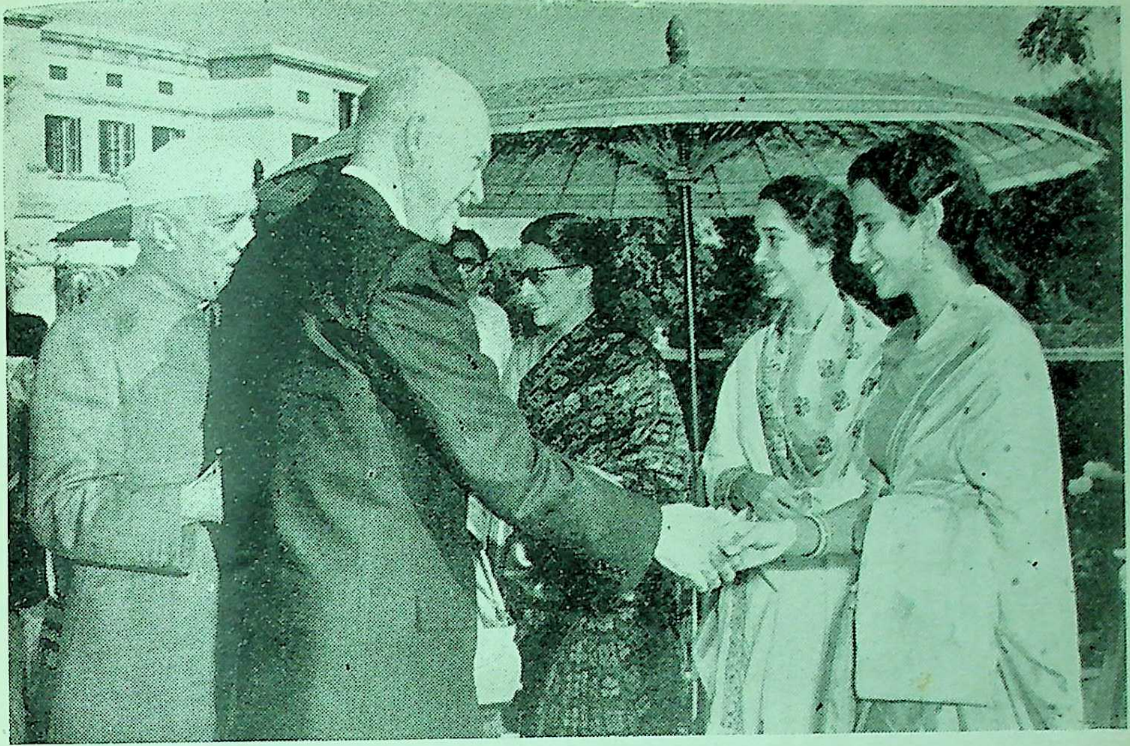
[4] Gandhi: *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*—Part V, Chapter XXXVI.

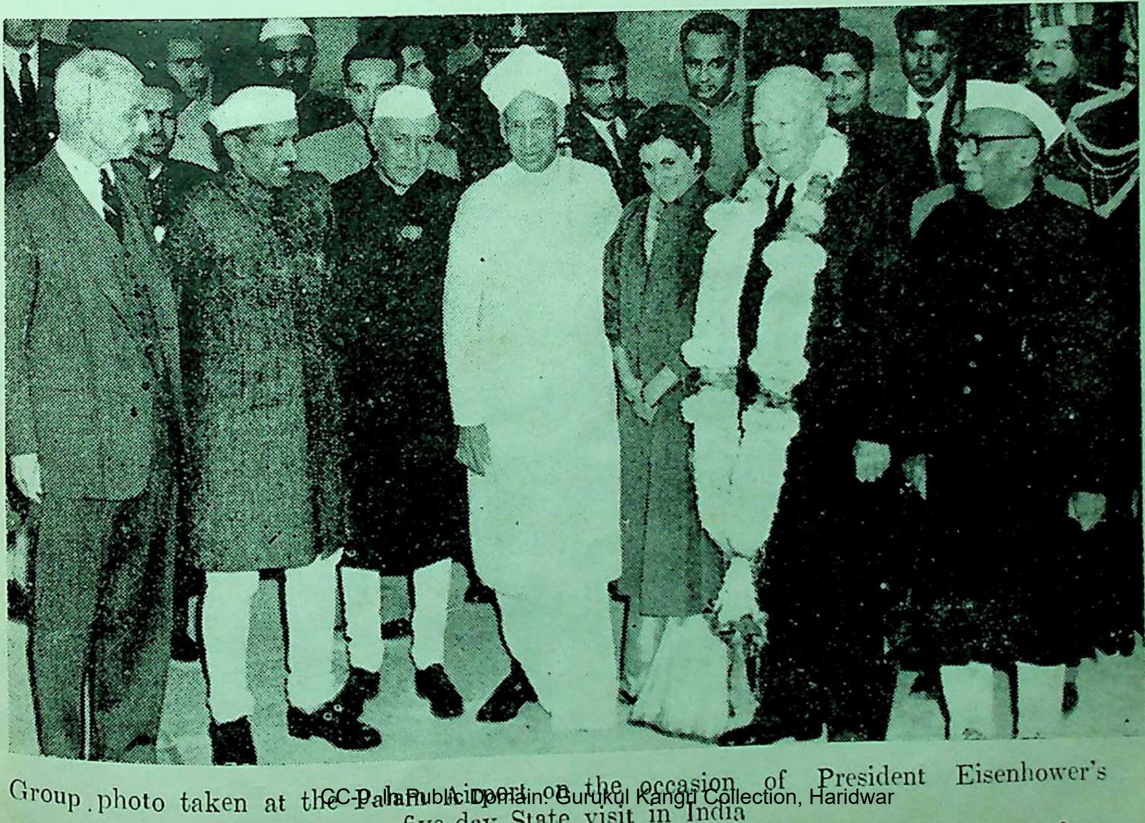
[5] This book inspired Mr. Jinnah to dream of a new role in life.

[6] Bepin Chandra Pal warned against pan-Islamism in the first decade of this century.

[7] 'To sound the order of retreat just when public enthusiasm was reaching boiling point was nothing short of a national calamity.'—Subhas Bose in *The Indian Struggle*.



Some honoured guests in a launch held recently in New Delhi in honour of the U.S. President are being presented to him by the Prime Minister



Group photo taken at the Palam Airport on the occasion of President Eisenhower's five-day State visit in India

President Eisenhower is seen arriving with distinguished visitors at a special Convocation of the Delhi University

The U. S. President proceeding to the Central Hall of the Indian Parliament over the question of music before mosque, cow-slaughter and other causes as flimsy. As Gandhi crossed the ordeal, he was back to the old schedule and accepted the presidentship of the Congress at Belgaum, December 1924.

Fast as time ran out, England sent a Commission in 1928, headed by Sir John Simon, of which Clement Attlee was a member, to consult Indian leaders and work out a scheme as the next change in the governance of India. There was not a single Indian on the Commission and the Congress boycotted it. The demonstrators sustained a barrage of 'Simon go back.' They were beaten up, such as to prompt Jawaharlal Nehru, 'half blinded with dull anger,' as he says, to retaliate, but deterred from a course like that by his loyalty to Gandhi. Lala Lajput Rai slumped under a stinging blow and died a few days after. The result of all these was that the 1929 Lahore Congress declared that the word Swaraj in Article I of the Congress Constitution meant complete independence; and January 26 was marked as the Independence Day for national observance.

Gandhi renewed his campaign of Civil Disobedience. On 12th March 1930, he and seventy eight others started on foot for the sea at village Dandi, some two hundred miles away from Ahmedabad, to make salt in violation of Law. There was an unprecedented upheaval in the country and people everywhere celebrated the occasion in whatever manner they deemed expedient in local conditions. Gandhi, erect with grim resoluteness, writ large on every step of his, was India on her pilgrimage to Freedom. He reached the destination, prepared salt and was confined in Yervada jail. Britain in the meantime tried one Round Table Conference in London without Gandhi. It proved dismally certain that no one else could deliver the goods. So at last the Governor General Lord Irwin came to terms with Gandhi. The Civil Disobedience was called off. The *Satyagraha* prisoners were released. The poor were given the right to make salt on their own account. Picketing of liquour and opium shops was pronounced legal. People got back the lands, which were consficated for Civil Disobedience. Gandhi agreed to attend the Second Round Table Conference. To Winston Churchill it was 'a humilating, nauseating spectacle' that Gandhi, whom he called in one of his obstreperous moments 'a half naked, seditious fakir,'[8] should be striding up the steps of the Viceregal house to settle terms with Lord Irwin, as between plenipotentiaries.

London turned out in her thousands to receive Gandhi. He put up with Miss Muriel Lester, who was living in the service of the poor in their humble surroundings of East End. It was the year of acute economic depression and, furthermore, a good many of the working class were hit by Gandhi's campaign of boycott and Khadi. All the same, they would wait on the wayside and keep running in and out just for a glimpse of this great Indian.

Gandhi in his loin cloth and hand-stiched wrapper was an oxymoron in the House of Lords, when the King-Emperor opened the Second Round Table Conference with due pomp in the presence of immaculately dressed official dignitaries and gorgeously-attired Indian Princes. "Time was," said Gandhi to the assembled, "when I prided myself on being a British subject. I would far rather be called now a rebel than a subject." In speeches at the Round Table Conference and at Committee meetings he emphasised the wrong which was being done to India by denying her the right of self-determination. These speeches in their crisp simplicity were a ringing contrast to the high-flown eloquence of others. At the garden-party in the Buckingham Palace, Gandhi was introduced to the King by Sir Samuel Hoare, later on Lord Templewood. George V told Gandhi that formerly he was behaving quite well as a loyal subject and that he should not have taken to destructive politics. Gandhi politely replied that as an invited guest he had not come to discuss politics. Lord Templewood says in his *Nine Troubled*

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[8] 8. George VI, on receipt of the news of Gandhi's death wired Mountbatten that it was 'an irreparable loss they (Indians) and *in-* *Mankind* (italics mine) have suffered.'

years how he breathed a sigh of relief that neither pushed the point any further. Gandhi, says he, impressed one and all by his 'beautiful manners' and contrasts him with the 'bumptious' Churchill. Bernard Shaw met him and declared that he was 'a man born once in a thousand years.' Lloyd George invited him and was all-praise for his winsomeness. Lady Astor invited him to luncheon. Winston Churchill refused to meet him. His cousin, the famous sculptress Clare Sheridon, however, obtained Gandhi's permission to do his head. He had no time to pose, but she did her job while he was spinning. On his way back, he met Romain Rolland at Paris. Rolland writes his impression, "He flung one arm around me, leaning his check against my shoulder. . . . . It was, I amuse myself thinking, the kiss of St. Dominic and St. Francis."

Gandhi came back, the European Association chuckled, 'empty-handed'. This did not worry Gandhi; he never had high hopes from his visit. What however worried him, essentially the man of peace, was that what he and Irwin had intiated in healing up the differences between England and India were set at naught by Irwin's successor, the 'feather-brained'[9] Willingdon, who chose to rule India by Ordinances. He turned Gandhi's request even for an interview. Gandhi wrote back to say that it was unworthy of the position, he held. Gandhi was taken a captive to the Yervada jail.

The Separate Electorate, which was embodied into the Indian Statute by the India Act, 1909, was confined to the Moslems only. The India Act, 1919, extended it to the Sikhs, the Indian Christians, the Anglo-Indians and the Europeans. As though the cup of divisiveness between man and man in India was not yet full to the brim, the India Act, 1935, sought to slice out a portion of the Hindu society, which passed for the Scheduled Caste, and give them a separate electorate. The magnitude of the contemplated step appaled Gandhi. He took to fast unto death were the Hindus to remain obdurate and would not move fast to undo the miscief. The Caste Hindus and the Scheduled Caste Hindus agreed to a formula and Britain, shying at the odium of her responsibility, accepted it in place of her own. Thus was Gandhi saved, on the brink of a fatal sag; and he saved the Hindu society breaking down still further into pieces.

The India Act, 1935, conceded a measure of autonomy to the provinces. It was, however, hedged in by so many reservations, safeguards and residuary power that Attlee, as Leader of the Opposition, summed it up to say in the House of Commons, 'the one thing which seems to have been left out is the Indian people.' 'It ingeniously multiplied,' says Harold Lasky in *Where From Here*, 'every protective device discoverable of reaction.' And yet Winston Churchill fulminated as though the prodigals were giving away everything with a reckless abandon.

Gandhi consented to the Congress taking up the administration of eight out of eleven provinces. The Second Great War broke out in 1939. Lord Halifax, now the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, requested Gandhi to send a message to Poland groaning under German attack. Any other than Gandhi would have retorted, 'Were not you as much a party to the attempts of Chamberlain and Daldier to direct Fascist might easteward?' But Gandhi is of a different mould and at once acceded to the request. As Linlithgow invited Gandhi to line up with Britain, Gandhi asked the Governor General to consult the British Cabinet and state in unequivocal terms what India gained in being plunged into the desolating war. Linlithgow would not. He further involved India into the war over the head of her Legislature. Gandhi withdrew the Congress Ministries and started a symbolic civil disobedience. That is to say, one Congress member would stand at a public place to announce, for what consequence, that the war had been forced down the throat of India.

It was at this dissolving period of

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[9] The expression is Montagu's.

history that Winston Churchill became the Prime Minister of Great Britain. One of his very early pronouncements was that he had not become the King's First Minister to preside over the liquidation of the Indian Empire. He declared as well that the Altantic Charter, which promised the people the right to choose their own form of Government, did not apply to India. 'We hold what we have' was his arrogant assertion. In the inevitable clash some forty thousand people were put in jail. In the meantime, Japan attacked Pearl Harbour and the United States of America entered the war. Churchill sent Stafford Crips, with his successful record in Russia, to India to talk out, as it were, the question of her Independence. In August 1942, Gandhi started his 'Quit India'[10] campaign and left every Indian to go to the fullest length for a complete deadlock. The factor of surpassing importance to finalise the Indian struggle in the nick of time was, however, Netajee Subhas Bose.

Subhas Bose escaped from detention in his Calcutta residence in January, 1941. After an intriguing journey, which bristled with hazards and hardships of all kinds, he went to Russia via Afghanistan and then flew to Berlin in the following March. He was enthusiastically accepted by Germany and Japan in turn as an ally.[11] In the South East Asia he formed a battalian from out of the Indian Army, left over in the lurch by the British Generals fleeing for their lives. He launched the offensive and came as far as Kohima but was cut off from the main line of supply and had to retreat. Japan surrendered shortly after.

Abul Kalam Azad says in *India Wins Freedom* that Gandhi changed radically towards Netajee Subhas and was all affection whenever he was mentioned. He even countered Azad to say that if the Japaneese landed in India they would come not as her enemy. The change is significant, because over the Tripuri Congress in 1939 the chasm between them looked complete. Over the distant radio, Subhas Bose, all the same, hailed Gandhi as 'the Father of the Nation', even if it is an anachronism historically.[12] To the Indian National Army, beaten back but covered with glory, Gandhi paid the well-merited tribute of acknowledgement. "You have," he said, "failed in your direct objective to defeat the British; but you have the satisfaction that the whole country has been roused and even the regular forces have begun to think in terms of Independence."[13] Britain, for fairly two hundred years since the Plassey down to relinquishing the sceptre, had rested her guns on Indian shoulders in order to keep India under subjection. It was Subhas Bose's sinews and inspiration, which imbued the Indian military with the spirit of 'about face' to British commands as a test of patriotism. This is what, Sir Stafford Cripps, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, said in a roundabout way in the House of Commons, March 1947, in the debate on Indian independence. He dwelt on the 'absurdity of a considerable reinforcement of British troops to enforce administrative responsibility'. England may not tire preening herself on the virtue of fulfilling her mission by withdrawing from India, but History shall always be hard put to tone down the dire expediency of her leaving the Indian shores before the prospect of trade could yet be saved. And, in fact, it was saved.[14] We are, however, straying afield and must go back.

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[10] The coinage is that of an American Press-correspondent.

[11] Paul Leverkuehn says in his *German Military Intelligence* that "Bose was in no way a collaborator in the evil sense which the word has acquired of recent years; rather he was a true Indian patriot with but one idea, who was prepared to do nothing for Germany's sake, but anything and everything including the harnessing of Germany's interests for India."

—The book is translated into English by R. H. Stevens and Constantine Fitzgibbon.

[12] Round about 1913 or 14. Annie Besant raised a controversy as to whom should the fatherhood of the Indian National Congress, synchronising with the freedom-movement of India, be assigned. Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, himself once a President of the Congress, clinched the issue by a somewhat forthright appraisal—'Were a father be found now, let us declare that Surendranath Banerjea is the grandfather; he is the father of our national consciousness'. Moreover, India, so long snubbed by the die-hards as no nation but only a geographical expression, was, when Gandhi stepped into Indian politics, already a nation. There can be no better authority in support than Sir Reginald Coupland, who says that 'from 1918 onwards, India was recognised as a separate nation and represented in her own right at international conference.'—*India, A Re-statement.*

[13] Dr. K. N. Katju said over the All-India Radio, 23rd January, 1952—'The final and decisive blow to the British *Raj* was dealt by Netajee Subhas Bose.'

IV

As the Congress, under the leadership of Gandhi, gave Britain the ultimatum 'Quit India,' Quaid-e-Azam Mahammed Ali Jinnha, on behalf of the Muslim League acting as a bastion against the Congress demand for Independence,[15] put in the rejoinder 'Divide India before you quit'. To enforce their demand the Muslim League started Direct Action, which inaugurated a blood-bath in Calcutta and Noakhali with grim repercussions in Bihar. The English governor of either Bengal or Bihar acted as the wooden horse of the Trojan War. Gandhi in his treck to restore brutalised Noakhali and Bihar to normalcy once again signalised how incredibly apart he was from others. He would personally visit the plague-spots, contact the people, smitten with a frenzied communalism, and help heal up the wounds.

In February 1947 Britain anounced that she would quit India not later than June 1948. The then Governor-General Lord Wavel was practically dismissed to make room for Lord Mountbatten, related to the royal family. He speeded up the process and completed by 16th August, 1947, withdrawal from India, now divided into two independent countries, India and Pakistan. History has the indelible print that Gandhi assented to the division of India after having repeatedly held out the solemn assurance that it is only over his dead body that the division could be effected.[16] All the same, it is Gandhi's signal achievement that he made India a secular state as distinguished from Pakistan being made an Islamic State. It enables forty-five million Muslims to live in India as equal citizens under the security guranteed by the Constitution.

Gandhi stole away from the furore of Independence celebrations to devote himself to his mission of 'forget and forgive.' The process he had erelong initiated was disturbed by the shocking tales of refugees coming from East Bengal and West Punjab. As he felt that his appeal did not avail to the extent he hoped, he resorted to a fast in Calcutta. The leaders of each community pledged with him their word of honour and there were indications that their joint efforts were bearing fruits.

H. S. Suhrawardy, the Chief Minister of Bengal, during the 'Great Killings'—the coinage is that of *The Statesman*, Calcutta —trooping at the heels of Gandhi for peace and amity between the Hindus and Moslems is a pathetic phenomenon of history. Gandhi gave up the fast after seven days. In the meantime, Pakistan attacked Kashmir, which acceded to India. Ballavbhai Patel, as Home Minister, withheld the payment of Rupees Fifty-five crores to Pakistan, India had agreed to pay her under the head Partition-assets. Possibly never before Gandhi had his non-violence so sorely tested. He supported India resist by arms the raiders of Kashmir but would be no party to withhold the aforesaid payment, firstly because, it was agreed upon without any condition attached to it and, secondly, it was the only way to localise the conflict.

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[14] In March 1958, Prime Minister Macmillian said at New Delhi, that Britain's trade position with India was better than what it was during the British regime. And what that trade position means is abundantly clear from what Viscount Rothermere said in the *Daily Mail,* June 3, 1930. Vide *The Daily Mail Blue Book on the Indian Crisis.* "India," says he, "is still far and away the largest consumer of British exports. Without the profits which Great Britain draws from her commerce with India the most ruthless Chancellor of the Exchequer would be unable to raise enough revenue to provide old-age pensions, unemployment relief, education grants and all other State allowances which are regarded by their beneficiaries in this country as part of the automatic routine of existence. These advantages are unparallelled in any other nation, and the only reason we are able to afford them is that we have hitherto found the greatest overseas market for our manufactured products among the 320,000,000 people of India".

[15] On 12th November 1930, Jinnah himself claimed at the First Round Table Conference that the Muslim League had 'checked, held in abeyance the party that stands for complete Independence of India'.

[16] The inside story is yet awaited why Gandhi agreed to the Partition.

At times it is difficult to reconcile to the ethics of Gandhi's non-violence. It is based, he says, on India's ancient Law of suffering and sacrifice and is conceived to work out a change of heart in the wrongdoer. It is universally accepted that Gandhi has, more than any body else in modern times, brought home to a distracted world the urgent necessity of evolving a code of conduct between a nation and nation, such as it obtains between two gentlemen in the ordinary affairs of life. He has held with untiring insistence that were civilization, built up in the length of ages, to survive, brute reciprocity must not be the last say. He has demonstrated without one single equivocation that in the most exacting fight to liquidate British rule he has not said far less acted, which even remotely bespeaks of spite, malice or hate against the British people. No political leader anywhere in the world has ever shied at or shunned a subterfuge as he. Can it be said of any other doing politics, as Gokhale said of Gandhi 'as the kind of man before whom not only are we ashamed of doing anything unworthy but in whose presence our very minds are afraid of thinking anything that is unworthy'? He was called 'a crank', 'a charlaton 'a dangerous maniac', but as he replied to the charge or discussed the subject-matter on the boil, he never used a harsh word. Stuck up in a gruelling fight for national ends, he was, true to the kindred spirits of heaven and home, always for a federal adjustment of sovereign states. It is no wonder that Bishops and Prelates of note and standing acknowledged this Hindu as having given life and meaning to Christianity. In fact, he has built up a legend as to justify Einstein to say that 'a generation after, people will scarcely believe that such a man as he ever walked on this earth'.

But the Nemesis is eternally jealous. The charge that from the very start Gandhi appeased the Moslems such as to inflate their demands persisted. Even Abul Kalam Azad accuses him in cold print that he fawned at Jinnah, when the latter had very nearly dropped as a back number; and that Jinnah, invested with a new lease of life, took to kicking with disastrous results. There was a section of people, which could not, as well, take kindly to Gandhi refusing to make India a Hindu State. The sense of chagrin and discontent was wellnigh universal as he stood in the way of Patel withholding payment to Pakistan till her regular army was withdrawn from Kashmir. One of those, who completely lost balance in mad fury, shot Gandhi dead at Delhi on 30th January, 1948.[17] There were hardly eyes, which did not moisten, voices, which did not choke. There was, however, an automatic recovery in the bliss of one supreme consciousness—what other death would have given him the priceless crown of martyrdom? People in a flash recalled Socrates condemned to a cup of hemlock; Jesus Christ crucified; Abraham Lincoln shot dead; and Lenin shot at to die of the injuries.

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[17] After mid-day nap Gandhi told his Secretary, 'Bring me my important letters; I must reply them today, for tomorrow I may never be'. Is it premonition or his way of doing things, *i.e.*, not putting off important things?

REV. FATHER LAFONT S. J. of ST XAVIER'S COLLEGE

By ARUN KUMAR BISWAS, M.Sc. (Tech.)
Department of Applied Chemistry, Calcutta University

I

Pandit Shibnath Sastri remarked in one of his writings, that the period from 1856 to 1861 had been a very significant one in the context of Bengali Renaissance. Great sons of Bengal, e.g., Sir J. C. Bose, Bepin Chandra Pal, Rabindranath Tagore, etc., were born in this period; widow remarriage movement, Indigo movement and Sepoy Mutiny agitated the mind of young Bengal, and, in the turmoil, everlasting benefit was done to the country in the establishment of three important Indian Universities in the year 1857. 16th of January, 1860 was a very important date in that epoch-making age; for, on that day St. Xavier's College was started at the site of Sans Souci Theatre at Park Street. How the College has influenced the Bengali and Indian mind throughout one complete century is a long tale, only a part of which may be told in this article. The life and works of Rev. Father Eugene Lafont S. J. would be particularly discussed here, he having been not only a Rector of this Institution, but also one of the chief architects of the Xaverian tradition. In the modern scientific age, the contribution of this "Father of Science in Bengal" towards the scientific renaissance should be appreciated by one and all.

II

The history of the earlier St. Xavier's College that ran its chequered and strenuous course from June 1, 1835 to September 27, 1846 is known to but few. The college was opened in the interests of Catholic education and was conducted by the English Jesuits. On account of the Protestant rivalry and party feelings running high even amongst the Catholics of Calcutta, the first St. Xavier's College had to eventually close down its book. The Catholics of Calcutta petitioned the Holy See for a good college to suit their purpose and this time the task was taken up by Belgian Province of Society of Jesus. The first batch of eight Jesuit Fathers led by Father H. Depelchin arrived at Calcutta, on November 28, 1859. In the meantime, the old Sans Souci Theatre at 10, Park Street (at present 30, Park St.) had been bought by the Catholic community and this building came to be the site of St. Xavier's College.

The College started very modestly on January the 16th, 1860. Under the management of Father Depelchin and patronage of devoted Catholics like Mr. James Cantopher, Mr. Bentham Bowring (Private Secretary to Lord Canning), etc., the College gradually grew up to its full stature. It was soon affiliated to the Calcutta University. In spite of sickness, of opposition, financial difficulties and "perhaps because of all these, God's work prospered." In this background, the arrival of Father Eugene Lafont at Calcutta on December 7, 1865 was an auspicious event, for besides being one of the pioneers of Science in this country, he guided the course of St. Xavier's College through 43 long years, he made the Xaverian edifice at Calcutta nobler and stabler. Although Father Lafont and St. Xavier's College were indissolubly connected, we propose to reserve our attention on Father Lafont and to probe as regards how his words and deeds glorified the College, he represented.

III

Eugene Lafont, eldest son of Pierre Lafont, was born at Mons in Belgium on the 26th March, 1837. Father Lafont, in his maturity, did not remember much about Mons and the house and street where he was born, for it was "so far back" and he had seen "so many others since." As a matter of fact, he had hardly stayed at Mons. His early training was at Ghent (St. Barbara's College) where his father was an Army officer. Very little is known about Fr. Lafont's boyhood; he joined the Society of Jesus in December 1854. After the preliminary training afforded by the Order, he gave himself to the study of Philosophy and

Natural Science at Namur. (Father Depelchin was at that time Minister of the Namur College). It was here that he developed that aptitude for Experimental Physics which in him seems to have been a real gift and which he utilised to such immense advantage in later years and in other climes. His service was very soon requisitioned for Bengal Mission and he came down to Calcutta in the winter of 1865, and joined St. Xavier's College.

In 1866, he was engaged in the pre-Entrance class but very soon he had to teach Natural Sciences in the College. It was during this year that Father Lafont gave the first of the long series of public exhibitions that ended only with his death 42 years later. "It was a very humble beginning—only a magic lantern show. He worked the slides but owing to his want of the familiarity with the English language, he engaged the services of one of the senior boys, Richard Bradley, to announce the pictures." Charity is said to begin at home and Father Lafont gave the doses of scientific thought to his own pupils first before trying the same on the Indian public. Besides, he had to wait till the public was acquainted with his name, and the cyclone of 1867 gave the opportunity.

He had been steadily acquiring apparatus for his physical laboratory ("Museum" as he called it) and day-to-day meteorological observations. With his meteorological apparatus, he sensed an approaching cyclone in the morning of 1st November 1867 and gave the timely warning to the Government Meteorological Department. The cyclone came that night obeying his predictions; he took series of meteorological readings, braving the fury of elements, and published the same. The newspapers had rather disparaging comments on the fact that "the Government observatory had failed to do what the scientific enthusiast had braved the elements to perform." The public came to know of this unique man, who had come in this country to preach not only religion but also science. Father Lafont continued his scientific pursuits and particularly meterological ones. In 1870, Secchi's meteorograph, a self-registering instrument for recording temperature, pressure, rainfall, velocity of wind, etc., was purchased and placed in the Physical Laboratory of the College for daily observations. The cogent recordings of the weather in its multiplicit forms and its publication in the form of tables made Father Lafont and his laboratory very famous, not only in this country but even abroad. Abbe Megino, the French Savant said, "These are magnificent tables. We offer Father Lafont our best congratulations. He does better than the Imperial Observatory of Paris."

Rev. Father Lafont S. J. (1837-1908)

Now that his popularity in the city was an established fact, his lectures at the College Hall drew ordinary public, and the college gatherings underwent a metamorphosis into public lectures. On September 18, 1868, he gave a public lecture on a scientific subject which was favourably commented upon by the local press. The demonstration "showed clearly how attractive a really good course of popular scientific lectures, abundantly illustrated with experiments would be to the inhabitants of Calcutta." The series of lectures in the months of May and June, 1870 were similarly appreciated. It was reported about the lecture on 19-5-1870, that "notwithstanding rain and lightning, a pretty fair attendance of native gentlemen gathered around the lecture table to hear the exposition of Dalton's atomic theory and witness some experiments, illustrating the general principles of matter. . . . . Throughout the series, the gentlemen were most assiduous and punctual in their attendance."

Father Lafont continued his popular scientific lectures till his death in 1908; the reader need not be bored with a huge catalogue of references. The fact however remains that he was a successful populariser of science and this was due to his beautiful introduction and presentation of the topics. He knew how to "sell his wares." In a lecture on X-ray, he would start with a claim that a particular shoe-maker makes the best kind of boot and then he would proceed to show how the superiority over other kinds of boots may be established by X-ray experiments. According to Rev. Father A. Briot S. J., the oldest Jesuit teacher today in St. Xavier's College, the lectures of Father Lafont had always a novel beginning and an ending with an exclamatory note on 'God's beautiful positive works'. While his religious preachings drew Catholic devotees round him at St. Thomas Church in Middleton St., his scientific lectures equally fascinated the architects of scientific renaissance in Bengal. Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar, the eminent homoeopath and founder of Indian Association for Cultivation of Science was strongly attracted by the scientific preachings of this man of God and became tied with him by a life-long friendship. The two friends then proceeded to sow the seed of science in the fertile land of Bengal.

IV

The historic letter of Raja Rammohan Roy addressed to Lord Amherst advocating for introduction of scientific education in India had marked the beginning of a new age. Although the Rajah's dream was not fulfilled in his lifetime, it gradually came out to be true. The establishment of Calcutta Medical College in June, 1835, Roorkee Engineering College in 1848, etc., instilled in the Indian mind new aspirations; general and broad-based scientific education was still however a far cry. In the August 1869 issue of *Calcutta Journal of Medicine*, Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar published an article entitled "The desirability of a national institution for the cultivation of the physical sciences by the natives of India." In this article is to be sought the origin of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, which has produced internationally reputed scientists like Sir C. V. Raman, Dr. Krishnan, etc. The idea of Science Association where Indians could do original research work and cultivate science in its various aspects, occupied all thoughts and efforts of Dr. Sircar. The project of the Association was conceived and given out in December, 1869 (when Father Lafont had already started his public lectures) and it was not till after "six years' agitation, cogitation and education of public mind" as Kristo Das Pal used to say, that the Association was opened for work in 1876. The leading men of the then Bengal, e.g., Keshub Chandra Sen, Vidyasagar, Bankim Chandra, Kristo Das Pal, etc., came forward to help Dr. Sircar to the best of their abilities. His Grace the Archbishop Goethals and the Professors of St. Xavier's College, who were representing Catholic opinion through the forum *Indo-European Correspondence* (later *Catholic Herald of India*), did not lag behind. On the one hand they encouraged and instructed Father Lafont in his noble venture of popularisation of science and on the other, they recommended Dr. Sircar's project of Science Association strongly to the public.[1]

The acquaintance and friendship between Dr. Sircar and Father Lafont (which happened perhaps in the year 1869) must be admitted as a very significant event in the scientific renaissance of the

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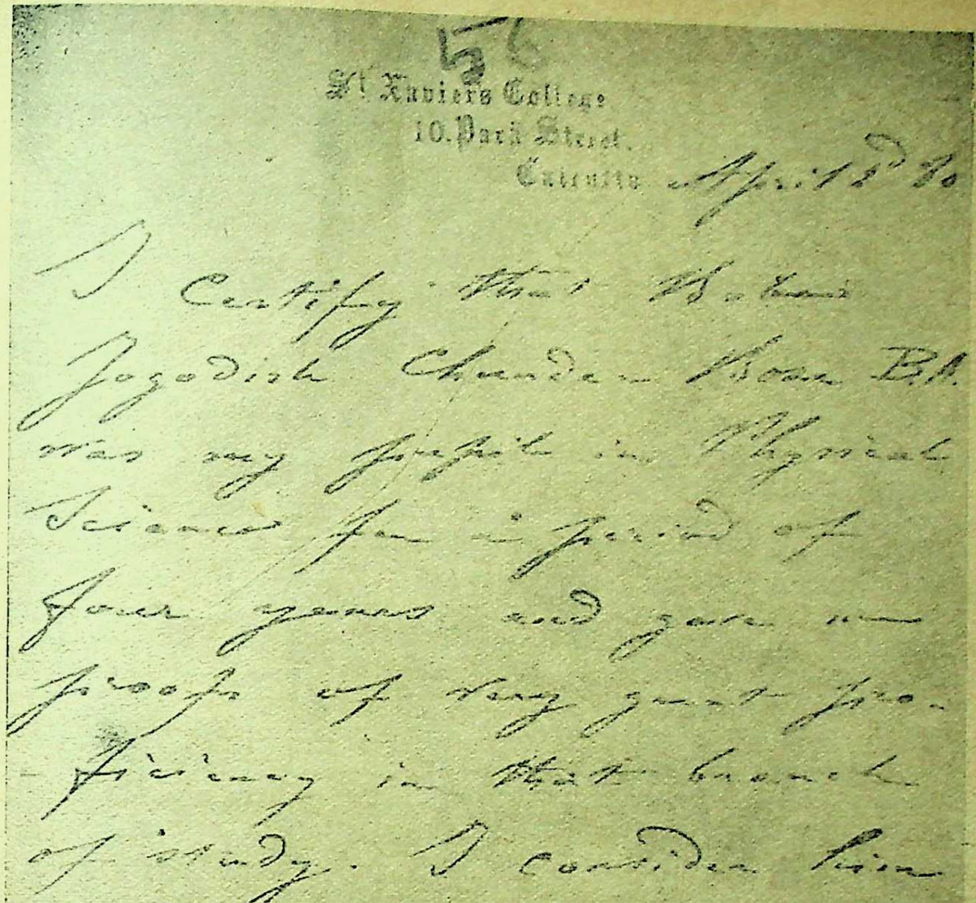
[1] Ref. *Indo-European Correspondence*, Sept., 26, 1868; May and June issues, 1870; March, 1882, etc.



56

St Xaviers College
10. Park Street.
Calcutta April 12 80

I Certify that Babu
Jagadish Chunder Bose B.A.
was my pupil in Physical
Science for a period of
four years and gave me
proofs of very great pro-
-ficiency in that branch
of study. I consider him
to be one of the best stu-
-dents we had in our Col-
-lege Department.

E. Lafont S.J.
late Rector and Lect
in St Xav. Coll.

Facsimile of the certificate given by Father Lafont to his student, Jagadis Chandra Bose country.[2] While most of the others helped the cause of science in India by mere 'agitation' and 'cogitation,' the patient task of educating the public mind was taken up by Father Lafont. At the time the funds of the projected Science Association were swelling by the donations of Maharajahs and wealthy men, the humble gate collections of the public lectures of Father Lafont were also added to it. On 2nd June, 1870 Father Lafont delivered his first lecture towards the cause of the Science Association, at St. Xavier's College.

The discourse of Father Lafont on the 'Physical basis of Spectrum Analysis' delivered on 11th April, 1872 at the Medical College stirred up the public mind greatly in favour of propagation of science. The comments of *The Indian Mirror* on the said lecture may be quoted as this amply proves what the joint personality of Father Lafont and Dr. Sircar meant to the intelligentsia of the nineteenth century Bengal:

"For the space of two hours, Father Lafont kept up the interest of his audience by the fascination of his discourse as step by step he traversed the grand field and carried us through the mysteries of the distant worlds. . . . . . There was an electric effect produced by the lecturer's words, which were at once clear and graceful, plain and animated, rising at times to the height of eloquence.

". . . . : Time has come when someone ought to take the missionary's role and go through the country interesting the people by means of popular science lectures and exposition of the kind given by Father Lafont.

"There can be no doubt that Father Lafont and Dr. Sircar are *the persons to whom the popular vote would turn in the matter of the choice for leaders*. It is to them, therefore, that all our hopes in this direction are directed." (Italics are mine).

When the Science Association was founded, Father Lafont used to deliver lectures at the Association premises every Thursday evening. In Father Lafont's own words, "Thursday was my only day of leisure in the week and although I had a great deal of work in the preparation, I was amply repaid by the manner in which my lectures were always attended and received." After long 19 years, Father Lafont had to discontinue his lectures at the Science Association but his contact with the Association remained as fresh as ever till he breathed his last. In the year 1893, the Science Association was affiliated, in the Physics and Chemistry course, to Calcutta University up to the First Arts standard. Before that, the members of the Association had doubted whether a Research Association should take up teaching and beg for affiliation under an University. It was Father Lafont who at that time convinced Dr. Sircar and others "that as one of the objects of the Association was the diffusion of knowledge of science by lectures, and as from the funds at the disposal they were only to fulfil that subordinate object, it would be no derogation of its dignity to seek the affiliation." Fourteen years later, the same Father while presiding over the Annual Association meeting (Sir C. V. Raman was present in the meeting; Dr. Sircar had died three years earlier) approved the idea of disaffiliation, as the Association had funds and abilities for pursuits of research and as the task of science-teaching could now be left to the competent authorities of the private colleges. While in his death-bed Dr. Sircar rightly referred to Father Lafont "without whose ungrudging and long continued aid the Association could never have been an accomplished fact."

V

In October 1871, Father Lafont was appointed Rector of St. Xavier's College and his position as head of the college naturally afforded him wider opportunities for furthering the interests of the institution. Even before he was raised to the Rectorship, he was endeavouring to impart real scientific instruction to his pupils. In the letter, dated 21-4-1870, addressed to Mr. W. S. Atkinson, Director of Public Instruction, Father Depelchin wrote:

"Three times a week, lectures on the

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[2] As the late Prof. Meghnad Saha used to say, "They always worked together."

attractive and useful science are delivered to all students of the College Department by the Rev. Father Lafont. The lectures are illustrated with experiments." Although the attendance was compulsory, the students liked it. They always found interest in the lectures and in the latest apparatus secured by Father Lafont.

Father Lafont was always the first to exhibit the latest discoveries of physical science to his students as well as to the Indian public: Telephone, Tesla's experiments, Wireless Telegraphy,[3] X-ray, coloured photography, Phonograph, the phenomena of Radioactivity, etc., are some of the examples. Generations of students listened with the same enchantment, as their elders did before them, to the wonderful lectures of this wonderful man. "Many a college feast day had its pleasant termination in the laboratory as the good Father had the habit of taking the school around him in the Museum".

An ardent believer of experimental science, Father Lafont expanded his physical laboratory as best as he could. This laboratory was a 'cynosure of all eyes', whether in India or elsewhere. Wealthy people donated for the purchase of new instruments. In January 1872, Lord Mayo presented to Father Lafont a beautiful model of horizontal steam-engine. From the Paris Exhibition (1900), the Father collected a good stock of some latest apparatus.

The most important event during the first Rectorship of Father Lafont was erection of the Astronomical observatory of the college, the history of which may be briefly told. On December 9, 1874, the transit of Venus across the Sun's disc aroused the enthusiasm of the astronomers throughout the world. Prof. P. Tacchini, the famous Italian Astronomer, had arrived in India and invited Father Lafont in the Muddapore expedition. Father Lafont participated and later published an interesting account of the expedition and its results.[4] Prof. Tacchini was so impressed by the value of solar observations in the cloudless sky of India that he persuaded Father Lafont to erect a spectro-telescope at St. Xavier's. An appeal was made for funds; Sir Richard Temple, the then Lieutenant Governor visited the college on 5th February, 1875 and granted Rs. 2,000 for the purpose. Four days later, Father Lafont approached the Asiatic Society of Bengal, of which he himself was a member, for monetary help; the society granted Rs. 500. A total of Rs. 21,000 was soon amassed and orders for the necessary equipment were placed to various European firms. A magnificent circular flight of steps led up to the observatory which was placed 60 ft. above the ground. The important equipments were as follows: a large equatorial, a parallatic instrument, object-glass of which was furnished with an hour-circle, six astronomical eye-pieces, five micrometer eye-pieces, one ring micrometer, a clock work with conical pendulum, a direct vision spectroscope and lastly a polarising helioscope with photometer. It took 18 months to construct the whole instrument. Father Alphonse de Penaranda, an able colleague of Father Lafont, calculated the geographical co-ordinates of the site of the observatory.[5] The work of daily mapping of the solar protuberances, study of Sun's spots, and studies of other heavenly bodies were started; even today, the Jesuit Fathers of the college are busy in important astronomical observations. Father Lafont's astronomical work was pioneering indeed as the India Government decided, almost simultaneously, to conduct an observatory at Kodaikonal.

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[3] After Sir J. C. Bose, a student of Father Lafont, had made the discovery, it was the great Father who insisted on his celebrated student, that the discovery should be demonstrated in public.

[4] With the help of a spectro-telescope, Prof. Tacchini made the important discovery of the presence of water vapour in the atmosphere of Venus. The total time of transit, as noted by Father Lafont with the help of equatorial refractors and carefully rated chronometers, was 4 hours 41 minutes 1.5 seconds.

[5] The values *viz.*, Longitude East of Greenwich 5 hrs. 53 min. 26 sec. and Latitude North 22° 32′51″, are greater than those of Alipore Observatory by 6.23 secs. and 45.8″ respectively.

In view of the remarkable contributions of Father Lafont in the educational field, suggestions were afloat in the year 1876 that the Father should be nominated a Fellow of the Calcutta University. The *Statesman* wrote, "The University would gain more honour by the nomination than Father Lafont." The Father was eventually nominated a Fellow in March 1877 and ever since he took active interest in the affairs of the University. It was mainly due to him, Dr. Sircar and Sir Alexander Pedler that the importance of scientific study in the University curriculum came to be recognised. His advocacy for more stress on science and experimental science in particular and more laboratory facilities in the colleges convinced the members of the Indian Universities Commission, appointed in the year 1903; his suggestions for an improved science course were accepted and eventually implemented by the University.

VI

The varied engagements and tireless activities at the St. Xavier's College, Science Association, Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Calcutta University broke down the health of the Father and he had to abandon his Rectorship and go to Europe for recovering the lost health (1878). He returned the next year and continued not only his lectures in Natural Science but also all other former activities. In 1901, he accepted his second Rectorship for another three years. His health having broken irrecoverably, he had to give up even his lectures in 1906 and everybody felt that the end was nigh. On Passion Sunday, the 5th April 1908, he preached with his usual vigour at the Church of the Sacred Heart, Dharmatallah; the excessive summer-heat began to tell on him and on medical advice, he had to leave for Darjeeling. He spent his last happy days with the boys of St. Joseph's school. He liked noise, he said, and the merry laughter of the boys was, he thought, the best tonic for a jaded liver. On 6th May, a sudden stroke of paralysis made his condition grave and he breathed his last on 10th May, 1908.

VII

If for nothing else, Father Lafont shal be ever remembered as the teacher o Sir J. C. Bose. The brilliant teache moulded the aspirations of this young pupi for the starry heights of scientific attainment. When Sir Jagadish had made hi important discovery on 'Telegraphy without Wires,' Father Lafont publicly demonstrated the experiments and paid hi student a well-deserved tribute (19th Sept. 1897). The Father mentioned that Bose' discovery preceded that of Marconi; i contrast to the latter, Bose did not take an patent, as he thought that the result of an scientific discovery should be a publi property. "Prof. Bose, whose modesty wa on a par with his merit, had requested hi old Master not to mention all these, bu Father Lafont was determined that justic should be done to whom justice was due.

Besides Sir J. C. Bose, many othe students were influenced by Rev. Fathe Lafont's teachings and adopted science a the main guiding principle in their live To name a few, the instances of Richar Bradley, Irrigation Engineer at Roorke Dr. Arthur Younan (later trained a Edinburgh), a famous research worker o the Vitreous Humour of the Eye and a renowned medical practitioner, Mr. E. F Deefholts, Electrical Engineer (an expe in Electrification of tramways), M Devendra Nath Mullick, a Physicist, M Hariprasanna Chatterji (Swami Vijnan nanda of Ramakrishna Order), an Enginee Mr. P. N. Bose, a famous geologist, etc., ma be cited.

Father Lafont exercised his noble i fluence not only upon his students but al on the contemporary intellectuals an royal dignitaries. Dr. Mahendra Lal Sirca Justice Gurudas Banerji, Sir Ashuto Mukherji, Sourindra Mohan and Jatind Mohan Tagore, Moulvee Abdul Late Khan, Babu Rajendralal Mitra and ma other intellectuals were deeply impress by what Father Lafont preached and d The then Nawab of Murshidabad, the Mah rajah of Gwalior, Maharani Sarnamoy as well as many Chief Justices of High Court and Lt. Governors considered Father Lafont "as one of their best friends"; the above statements can be proved by a host of well-connected references. He was able, amid the jarring discord of public life, to direct the mind of statesmen and administrators to those great moral issues of justice and of right on which the happiness and contentment of the people depend. Sir Ashutosh remarked that Father Lafont had "a very deep sympathy with the aspirations of educated Indians." This remark is extremely significant when viewed in the context of nationalistic agitations in the beginning of this century. One cannot fail to note without amazement the connection of the great Father with a huge number of organisations and associations. Mahomedan Literary Society, Burrabazar Family Literary Society, various women's educational organisation,[6] Calcutta Homoeopath Society, Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, etc., enrolled Father Lafont as their active patron or member. Indian Association for Cultivation of Science, the Calcutta University and Asiatic Society of Bengal however occupied the greater part of his attention.

The terrific impact, he made on the contemporary public opinion, can be best judged from the honours he received during his life time. A man of God, as he was, he valued his decorations, viz., 'Companion of the Indian Empire' (1880), 'Officier d'Academie de France' (1896), a 'Knight of the Order of Leopold' (1898), 'Doctor of Science' (Calcutta University) (1908), only because those were beneficial to the cause of Bengal Mission ('all these for Chotanagpur' as he used to say); his heart, however, pined for divine rewards alone.

VIII

Father Lafont was a man of Christ; he advocated for the modern science, only because he thought that neither Christianity was anti-scientific nor Science anti-religious. After coming to India, he pursued his theological studies and began preachings on various topics of religion and Christian faith. His sermons against Freemasonry (a cult of secrecy and anti-christianity) in 1875, Triduum speeches in 1888, Charity sermons in 1899, speech on Saint Francis Xavier in 1901 and numerous 'Retreat' sermons attracted catholics and non-catholics alike. He preached what he himself cultivated: love, charity, readiness to help others[7] and above all religious faith. He stressed that the ideal way of exercising one's faith was "never to be ashamed of it and never to sacrifice it for worldly advantages." In the age of Ramakrishna-Vivekananda, he nobly and significantly represented in India all that was best in Catholic faith. If he wanted anything in his mortal life it was an eternity of divine bliss. At his death-bed, he exclaimed, "Spare me human honours! I am thirsting for eternity."

IX

To evaluate the profound influence exercised by Father Lafont on Indian Renaissance, a critical assessment must be made of his scientific achievements and belief.

As Justice Gurudas Banerji said, "Father Lafont's mission has been to popularise the study of science in this country." With a rare power of exposition which recalled 'la manière de Tyndall', he succeeded in that noble mission. "Through the dissemination of Western culture, there has been a reaction in favour of the study of science; and with this salutary reaction the name of the Rev. Father Lafont must ever be most gratefully associated." Besides delivering popular lectures, he contributed largely towards the foundation of the Science Association, a tree which bore the fruits of Raman and Krishnan, and this, as the great Father himself considered, was the "best thing that he had done in India." And it must be remembered, that when he first came in India in 1865, there was no laboratory worthy of the name; his missionary work in science was started when it was so badly needed in the country.

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[6] Father Lafont used to deliver lectures on science at Victoria Institution, (founded by Keshub Chandra Sen), Loretto Convent etc.: Sm. Indira Debi Chaudhurani had been one of the Father's pupils at Loretto Convent.

[7] Rev. Father A. Briot has said that one of the characteristics of the great Father was that "he was always ready to help."

Speaking of the current belief that Father Lafont had been a mere popular lecturer, Sir Ashutosh Mukherji said, "No greater injustice could have been done him. His knowledge of the principles of science was as deep and as sound as that of any other scientist." The high proficiency which he attained in the study of Physical Science gives evidence that had he remained in Europe, he would have won a very conspicuous place in the world of Science. He however devoted himself to the cause of Bengal Mission, as "the needs of Bengal were many." The internationally-reputed British journal *Nature* regretted Father Lafont's death and remarked (May 14, 1908) : "The influence of Father Lafont is to be found in many of the science courses of study at Calcutta University. His name will be long kept in mind as that of one of the pioneers of scientific education in Bengal; his death is a great loss, especially at this time when strenuous efforts are being made to put education in Bengal on a satisfactory basis."

Historians of scientific renaissance in India would do well to go through the various speeches and writings of Father Lafont in which he expressed his scientific belief and profound religious faith (the latter did not contradict but complemented the former).

His pursuits in the meteorological and astronomical sciences were backed by a deep scientific philosophy which was a dogma of experiment, observation and unbiased inference. He wrote a series of articles on 'Cyclone,' 'Spectroscope', etc., in Indo-Europen correspondence (*Indo*); in one place, he remarked, "Every accurate observation of natural facts is precious on account of the possible conclusions to which it may subsequently lead, although at the time it is recorded, it may seem of little use." He believed in facts but not in unfounded and dogmatic hypotheses. As he clearly explained in a communication to *Indo* in October 16, 1869, "idle hypothesis led alchemists nowhere." In one of the early lectures, he said, "I belong to a religion commonly, though erroneously regarded as antagonistic to science. Well gentlemen, I declare to you, though a Catholic and Priest, I hail with delight and pursue with love any advance of true science, the only thing that frightens me being the pretended discoveries of men who are not satisfied with facts, but put in their stead, and erect into scientific dogmas, the ill-digested lucubrations of their imagination." According to him, an ideal scientific mind should be sufficiently liberal to accept and reconcile new facts. Six months before his death, when the atomic science was only in its infancy, he gave the warning, "Let us beware of accepting all theories and mere working hypotheses as absolute truths." "The discoveries about Radium and other radiant substances must make us very cautious in assuming that we are already in possession of a final certainty about the constitution of matter and the forces of Nature in general. It is a great thing to learn how to say, 'I do not know' instead of pretending rashly that we know all about everything."

There have been unconfirmed views (rather, rash pretensions) that modern science has forfeited the claims of religion and secondly, that the nineteenth century religious revivalism has acted in Bengal in a direction opposite to the current of scientific renaissance. In fact, modern exponents of scientific philosophy consider that science of today can neither prove nor disprove the claims of religion. Besides, as it has been rightly remarked by Dr. Bertram C.A. Windle, "The paths of science are not untreadable by the religious man, and as he walks in them, he will find in front of him the footprints of many who upheld the banner of religion as they did that of science." As regards the second part of the 'rash pretension,' the views on science held and expressed by the monks of Ramakrishna Order and Society of Jesus in India should be sufficient to dispel this illusion.

The utterances of Rev. Father Lafont make it abundantly clear that his religious faith and scientific belief were harmonised in him into one concerte philosophy of Life: philosophy of God and 'God's positive works.' Rev. Father E. O'Neill, the successor of Father Lafont as Rector of St. Xavier's College, brought out this trait of Father Lafont's character very explicitly: "Many of us will remember how at the close of an interesting lecture, he would in accent of profound veneration, raise the thoughts of an enraptured audience to a feeling of thankfulness to the God of all truth who deigns to lift the veil of Nature's mysteries to give man a glimpse into the secrets of His own universe. On this point, he was uncompromising. Truth, he often asserted with that depth of conviction so characteristic of him, cannot be opposed to truth." To conclude, his religious faith, love and sympathy to all and many other Christian virtues, coupled with profound belief in science gave him an unique personality, which could not but indelibly impress itself on the emerging new India.

X

Evaluation of the total contribution of St. Xavier's College to the cause of renaissance in this country, has been beyond the scope of this article. Only the publications and discussions in connection with the centenary celebration of the College can satisfy the curiosity of the interested people.

The steady and useful educational work of this College elicited the praise of the Bengali press even when the College was in its early teens. Following the examples of Father Lafont, the teachers of the College have contributed to the cause of education and science in this province. Father Alphonse de Penaranda, one of the pioneers of Astronomical Science in India was an able colleague of Father Lafont; in his lectures delivered at the Science Association (1888) he regretted that a course on Astronomical Science had not been included in the University syllabus. He devoted his life to St. Xavier's College and to his favourite pursuit of astronomy, "which excited in him a kind of religious enthusiasm;" his serene personality deeply influenced poet Rabindranath Tagore, who had been one of his students. Father Lafont before his death, had not only left behind him in the College, the lecture and demonstration rooms "better equipped than any other in India" (*Nature*, 14. 5. 1908) but also several junior colleagues who were already well-received in the society of Bengal.[8]

Father Lafont set the Xaverian tradition in the domain of science and scientific education. The best tradition, that the College has set in one hundred years, however, consists in the "consistent contribution of its quota to the number of useful citizens that labour for the welfare of this great country." St. Xavier's College and Rev. Father Lafont shall ever be remembered, if for nothing else, at least in connection with the immortal names of Poet Tagore and Acharya J. C. Bose. Let us hope, that this College shall produce many more worthy sons of the country !

Acknowledgement

The author is deeply indebted to Rev. Father A. Huart S. J., and Rev. Father P. Turmes S. J. of St. Xavier's College for the various helps rendered in connection with the preparation of this article. Thanks are also due to Rev. Father Rector, St. Xavier's College, and Dr. D. M. Bose, Director, Bose Research Institute, for their kindly permitting the publication of the photo and the document respectively.

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[8] On February, 14, 1908, Father A. Briot, along with Father Lafont, received Lord Minto, the then Viceroy, in the Astrononical Observatory; on Sept. 24, 1908, Father P. Van Neste was elected, along with Acharya P. C. Roy, R. S. Trivedi, Dr. Watson etc., a member of the Executive Committee of 'Chemical Club' which served as a 'common platform on which scientists of all countries could meet.'

The author of this article has been fortunate in having the opportunity of studying at the feet of these two great teachers. Rev. Father Briot is still amidst us.

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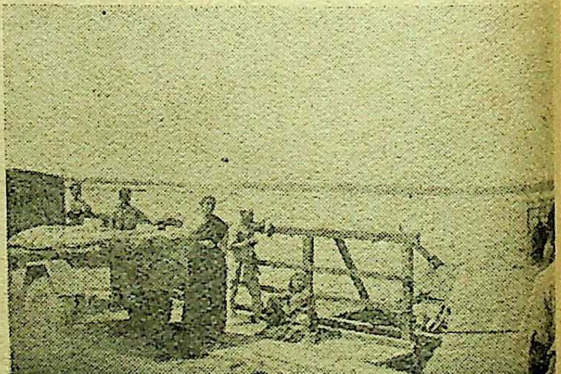
ASSAM

By E. V. GANAPATI IYER, I.A.S. (Retd.)

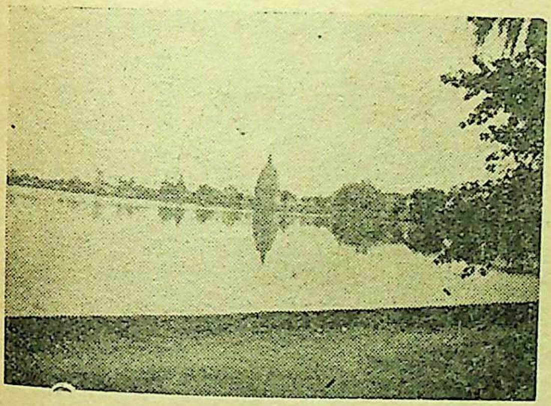
ASSAM is a little developed part of India of which there is considerable ignorance among the people of the rest of the country and even among Government and Parliamentary circles generally. Nevertheless it is a strategic part which is of great importance at any time and particularly at the present time when it has become a subject of exciting political interest and international controversy. This article deals with (I) "Assam as the Land of the Brahmaputra and the Hills" and the subsequent one, (II) "Assam—Its Peoples and Problems."

I. Assam—the Land of the Brahmaputra and the Hills

The circumstances of Assam's current topical interest may be here briefly mentioned. Firstly, the Dalai Lama, the God-King who left Tibet voluntarily, entered India through the northern border of Assam—a circumstance which inevitably has led to a border situation which has created tension and misunderstanding between two great friendly nations and requires to be resolved with proper circumspection. Again, Assam's northern border lies with China (of which Tibet is a part) and this is largely an undetermined and undemarcated line, generally called the Macmahon Line. It is to be hoped that if the British Government did not consider it necessary or possible to reach a settlement about this so-called boundary line, for 50 years, the National Government of India will take a little time to consider enlightened Indian opinion on the matter and negotiate a wise settlement of the international boundary with its neighbour from the basic considerations of friendship, security and mutual convenience. The constantly recurring theme of Naga raids, loot an plunder and their talk of Nagaland and the origin and forces behind these activities hav roused much public attention. The Nagas ar



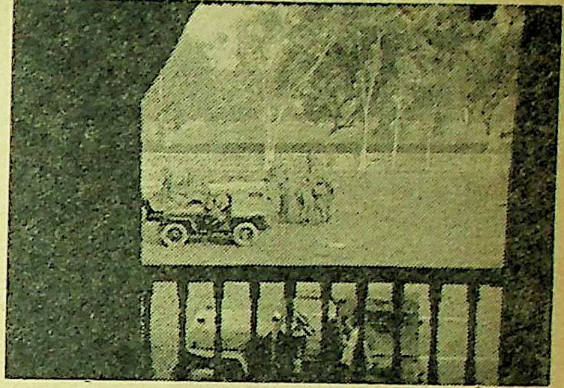
Our jeep is ready for ferry-crossing on the Bharati river only one group of the hill peoples of Assam and there are at least 5 or 6 other equally distinct peoples in the hill areas of Assam, the Khasias, a distinct Indo-Chinese race, the Daflas, the Cacharis, Miris, Abors and Singphos. These brave and hardy people have been largely dumb so far about their political and economic rights because of their continued state of economic backwardness and the want of educational and social progress among them. Whatever might have been or may be the condition of such people in an imperialistic economy, it will be a national slur if their lot continues to be as hitherto and the implications of the Tibetan situation should not be ignored in this connection. Last but not least is the circumstance that Assam is the chief scene of Pakistan's persistent border incursions into India and of firings by Pakistani troops on Indian citizens. These numerous and formidable problems make Assam really the biggest problem State for India as a whole.



Temple built by the Ahom kings
(*1714-1744 A.D.*)

The briefest description of Assam is that "it is the land of the Brahmaputra and the hills." In its Sanskritic meaning, Assam is the "A-Sama" land—the 'unequalled land' according to some,—the 'land of variation and divergence' according to others. It should be said that both the meanings are simultanously true and valid. Assam is 'the unequalled land of inequality, and divergence.'

The dominant thing of Assam is the Brahmaputra, one of the mightiest rivers of the world. The masculine name of the river—a unique thing in India—is attributed to ancient Hindu mythology, the river being alleged to have risen from a place called Brahmakund in Assam's border.



A jeep at Jorhat Circuit House

To give some idea of this great river, I cannot do better than quote from a verse:

ODE TO THE BRAHMAPUTRA

In gentle peace I sat on thy bank and mused,
Of thy grandeur, beauty-bound, is man enthused,
Divine thy being, oh Brahmaputra, fair and free,
Serene and kind, in untamed strength yet thy glee.

Wherever I wend and look from side to side
Thy waters spreading, thy form long and wide
Sparkling fast thy flow, 'Shwet' ribbon in the sky
Gift of eternal Gourishankar, mighty and high.

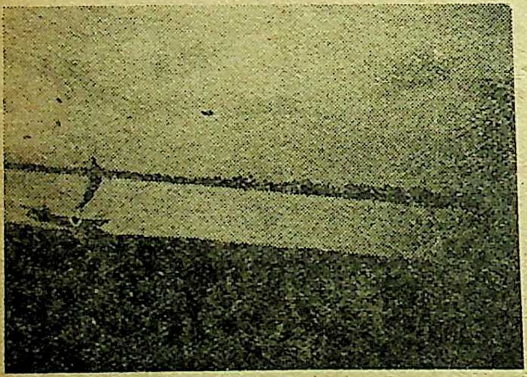
The hills are thy sides, forests and towns on them too,
Kamakhya's towering height and Kaziranga's natural view Zoo,
Dibru and Dhubri, Tejpur and twin Gauhati
And islands in thy waters in lone majesty.

Tsangpo and Brahmaputra, Lohit and Dihang,

Many thy names in Kamrup's story and song
Many the peoples and lands that mark thy fame
Boundless power and plenty man has yet to tame.

A day in May the noon was hot and gay
The wind it blew at even dark clouds away,
Sweet in thy caress lo! behold the furies calm
As we sped across to safety singing thy psalm.

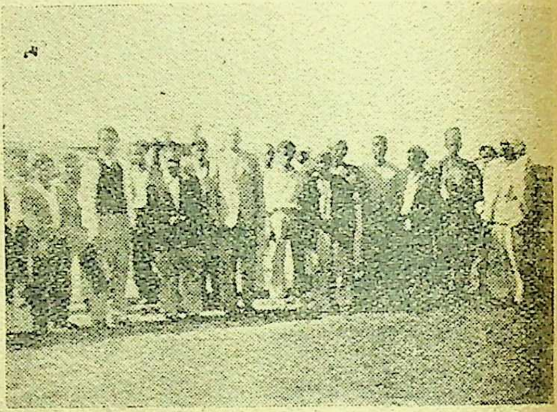
May thy mighty waters from high and eternal snow
Shining in plenty and for ever in glory flow,
May thy bounty in Assam's pride and power stand,
Bind her brave peoples of Kamrup, Khasis and Nagaland.



A small boat is out to cross the fierce Brahmaputra to Dhubri

Assam is identified as much with the Brahmaputra as with the ranges of hills which have inevitably conditioned and contained the river. Fortunately the Brahmaputra whose course on the other side of the Himalayas in Tibet and China, runs from West to East doubles on itself at the north-eastern bend, enters India and flows from East to West thereafter through the length of Assam. At the western end the Garo hills turn it to a direct southerly flow, which thereafter spreads itself out uncontrolled by any hills right up to the Hooghly and the sea, becoming the terror-creator of floods and destruction.

The Brahmaputra valley lies between the spurs of the great Himalayan mountains on the north and a chain of Assam hills on the south. The northern range includes the Bhutan hills, Dafla hills, Miri hills and the Abor hills while the southern chain spreads along the Garo hills, Khasi and Jaintia hills, Mikir hills, Cachar and Naga hills and the Mishmi or Lohit hills.

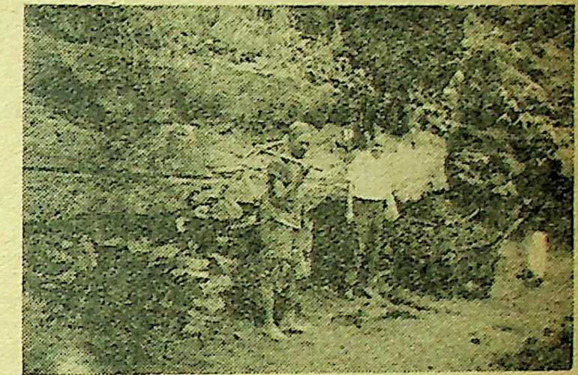


The writer with the Khasis

The northern hills rise steeply and abruptly from the plains being in most places very hig from 10,000 ft. to over 18,000 ft. The route o the Dalai Lama to Tejpur through Kamen District, for instance, traversed over hills o 10,000 feet or more. To reach places affecte by floods in the Dafla hills, to parachute-dro food supplies, the Indian Air Force had to fl over 12,000 ft. The hills on the south are no so high being about 4 to 7 thousand feet high This will give some idea of the relative vulner ability of Assam's international frontiers of th north and the south borne out also by the actu facts of history. Famous peaks of the souther hills are the 'Nokrek' hill (4,600 ft.) in Ga hills Shillong Peak in Upper Shillong (6,50 ft.) in Khasi and Jaintia hills, and the Jap peak in Naga hills (10,000 ft). I must speciall mention the Kamakhya hill near Pandu Gh in Kamrup; this peak rises like a fairy from th waters of the Brahmaputra, overlooks the coun try on all sides for miles and on its top stan the temple of Kamakhya, Goddess of *Shakt* and the embodiment of beauty and purity, visit by millions of people every year, a symbol the sway Hinduism established in Assam on its foreign conquerors of the Shan races.

The Brahmaputra valley extends over a length of about 450 miles in Assam from Dhubri on the West to Pasighat and Sadiya on the north-east, with an average width of 50 to 60 miles. There are few areas in the world which abound in such wealth of fertile soil (one has only to scratch the surface for luxuriant crops of rice, jute and tea), of mineral and forest wealth and hydro-electric resources. The Brahmaputra is a navigable high-way from Dibrugarh right down to Calcutta and carries a great traffic (which in methods of handling leaves much to be desired) in coal, rice, jute, tea, tea-chests, machinery and hardware up and down the river. Of its potential for the production of hydro-electric power, I need only mention that in its flow through Assam the river comes down from a height of 8 to 10 thousand feet to a few hundred feet above the sea level and we hear already that China has plans to generate 5 million KW. of electric power from the river gradients on the Chinese side. The State and the Central Governments owe a duty to the country and to the people of Assam to develop this source of power by utilising the potential fully.

If we turn our attention from the river to the land, we go from great to greater abundance and variety of natural bounty. The animal life and forest wealth of Assam are exuberant and unmatched by any other part of India. The giant vegetarians of the animal kingdom, the elephant and the single-horned Rhino of the grassy swamps and swiftfooted wild buffalo, the ferocious tiger and the bear, the huge crocodile and the cattle-devouring python are equally blessed in this land. In Assam fine bird life is as interesting as the fish life in its innumerable streams and ponds. The natural game sanctuary at Kaziranga which spreads over 160 square miles is justly famed throughout the world and is visited every year by zoologists, international sportsmen and circus trainers. In one morning I saw at close range in their freedom in this park 9 large Rhinos, several elephants, one of them crossing the road only yards ahead of our jeep in sullen fashion, herd of wild buffaloes at the water's edge so alert and fast that at the merest rustle of leaves a hundred yards away they disappeared as if by magic, sambhar, deer, numerous colourful birds and smaller animals.



Coal-digging near Cherra from surface seams

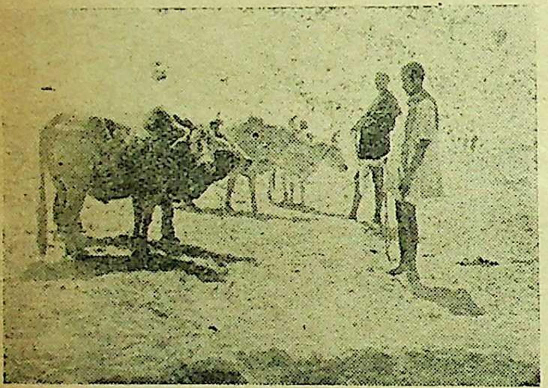
The bounty of nature hidden within the land is as varied and attractive as that above it in Assam. Coal of the best quality with an ash content of only 3% as compared with 11% of Raniganj is found in the thickest of seams of average depth of 50′ and more, quite close to the surface in the Khazi hills near Cherrapunji. New rich fields of coal have been discovered in the Garo hills. The world's best silimannite deposits—a refractory material—is to be found there. A comprehensive geological exploration and mapping of the land have yet to be undertaken. But sufficient has been done to point to the unlimited petroleum resources of Assam, the exploitation of which has led already to ideological controversies in India.

What are the problems of the Brahmaputra in Assam? They are:

(a) To control its water,
(b) To harness its energy,
(c) To drain its swamps,
(d) To improve its navigability with all modernity,
(e) To bridge it and link it with roads to its twin frontiers.

II. Assam Its Peoples and Problems

Assam enjoys the distinction of being about the last part of India to go under the British rule. Till the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century when practically the whole of North India and all the Peninsula formed British dominion, the centuries old kingdom of the Ahoms in Assam was independant country, lying interposed between the English districts or protectorates like Bhutan and the Burmese dominion. The beginnings of the Ahom rule went back to the 13th century, when the Ahoms, an offshoot of the great Shan race of people in Upper Burma migrated to and held sway in the neighbouring lands to the West, East and South of their homeland, after the defeat of the Burmese king by the great Tartar (Chinese) overlord Kublai Khan. The army of the Chinese warrior Emperor did not however, after the victory stay to colonise and rule in Burma but withdrew after putting the Burmese king back in power but as an ally and subordinate of the Chinese ruler. The Shans who went to Assam were an entirely different race from the Indo-Aryans of Bengal, Bihar and U.P. and had different culture, customs and thought. They were Buddhists, were warlike and capable of endurance and hard fighting. They were able to assert their mastery easily over the hill tribals and the Hindu natives in the valley of Assam who were generally given to the peace-loving life born of devotion to religion, learning, cultivation and the arts.



Fine bulls

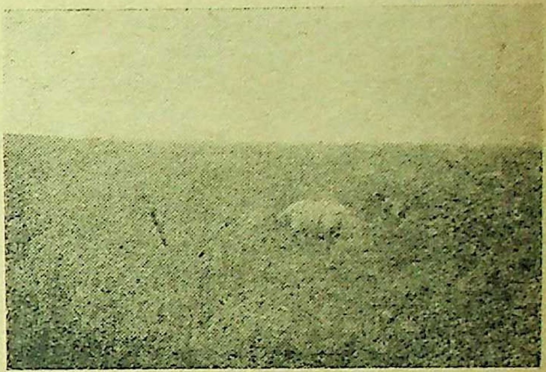
As the Shans were a warlike race, could organise things well and were also aided by the abnormal rains and terrain of Assam whenever they campaigned for fighting, they kept back the Mussalmans and the Moghuls from East Bengal when the neighbouring regions had fallen to them. Thus Aurangzeb had finally withdrawn from Assam and relinquished all idea of conquering it and the Assamese maintained their independance.

Whatever material prosperity and cultural glory Assam attained, it owes to the work of Ahom rulers. The Ahoms were Buddhists when they came from Upper Burma but in Assam in time they were quickly and effectively converted to Hinduism and they completely assimilated it. In Sibsager, the modern town which stands quite close to Rangpur, once a great town and the Capital of the Ahom kings, still stands on the fringe of a magnificent lake a great temple of Shiva, one of the finest large temples of India, built by the Ahoms. Hereditary family dynasties of sovereign authority have never yet made good anywhere in the world and it is no wonder that the Ahom kings in course of time lost that virility of administrative and military power which alone at all times is necessary to unify and canalise the strength of the people and utilise it to stem attacks from depredators and exploiters from abroad. So it came to pass that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the Ahom kingdom had so much declined in cohesion and authority that it was in a state of dissolution. There were sanguinary contests for power among the princes of the reigning house and the ministers supporting them resulting inevitably in the defeated party calling in the Burmese from across the mountains eastward. The Burmese after putting up and down several puppets finally placed Assam under a Governor of their own who was hated by the people. Then followed the turn of history for Assam. In the illuminating words of a British historian, "The conversion of a feeble semi-Hindu State on the frontier into a province of a warlike and aggressive Indo-Chinese kingdom was by no means to the advantage of the English.....It was always the practice of the English

India, as of other civilised empires in contact with barbarism to maintain a zone of tribal lands and chiefships as a barrier cr quickset hedge against trespassers upon their actual frontier by taking these Chiefships or little border principalities under their protection." As the Burmese violated such protectorate in Cachar, menaced the British possessions in Sylhet and overran Manipur, the first Burmese war ensued in 1824 and as an important consequence of the defect of the Burmese, Assam including Cachar came under the British and its individuality became merged in the dominion and now the Union of India.

The picture of the people of Assam is as variegated as that of its valley and the hills. In the valley, Hinduism with its unique power of absorption and enervating hold has synthesised into a strange unity the peoples of the Shan and Indo-Aryan races. The Assamese people now form a composite characteristic section of the Indian nation, with language and culture which are mainly Hindu and Sanskritic. They take interest in learning, in arts and religion, are devoted to Vaishnavism and tolerant of Buddhism (the God Hayagriva Madho in Hajo temple is worshipped by both Hindus and Buddhists) and have by long dissociation been losing their warlike traits and capacities. While the Assamese disliked the monopoly and the domination of the Bengalees in many fields in the past, they themselves have not mingled very much with the other regional groups of their State, Khasis, Nagas, Miris, etc., and they have also remained rather isolated from the rest of India. The so-called tribals of Assam falling broadly into the divisions, plains tribals and hills tribals, form some distinct heterogeneous small group units in the State.

The Khasis with their special Khasi land—the Khasi hills—are a sturdy square-built race of hard-working people, the women more so than the men. They are good hill climbers, carry great loads over the hills, are fond of archery, cock-fighting, and opium-eating, take to professions like carpentry, blacksmithy, lock-smithy and rifle repairs readily and are too ready to use the rifle. They have been attempting to use the English script as the vehicle of the Khasi dialect in recent years. While they form a fine people on the whole, they have many superstitions and uncivilised practices to outlive. They are said to resort too readily to the habit of poisoning rivals and relations and carry on feuds and follow personal leaderships to a large extent.



A Rhino

The Nagas, still sometimes exaggeratedly called the head-hunting Nagas because of the vindictive manner in which family and group feuds are pursued, are also a brave physically fine group of hill people. Though a feeling of mutual prejudice and suspicion has since recently come to exist between them and the Assamese, I found that they are noted for their loyalty, devotion, courage and hard work. They normally live in their mountain homes, have to find food from killing animals in the hills, lack supply of clothing and other amenities of a civilised life.

The Daflas, Mikirs and the Abors are the people of the hill areas on the Himalayan foot-ranges to the north of the Brahmaputra. European travellers notably a German missionary and his wife, who lived for years among the Apa Tanis in their inaccessible areas have written much about their bravery, endurance and simplicity, nevertheless also treachery, cruelty, superstition and jealousy. Ignorance of illnesses like dysentery, typhoid, malaria, etc., has given the deep-rooted superstitions and animal instincts, which are reflected in quaint habits so interesting to the anthropologist but so discreditable to the patriot, the nation-builder and the social worker. Their standards of living, material conveniences, social life and culture have been for decades and still continue to be of less than the elementary kind. Circumstances may have hitherto accounted for the isolation of these people and their backward condition but surely it should be the first and foremost task of the nation-builders and more than anybody else, of the Central and State Governments to open out these hill areas to civilisation and culture, to promote new nodern townships and settlements of the Indo-Aryan people in these areas and the intermingling of these people with hill peoples and others of the land and build up the strength and unity of a national entity of people and culture.

Hill tribals' huts on a hill

In making this closely interwoven fabric of the unity and social life of the component peoples of Assam, of the valley and the hills, through common education and culture, social and economic welfare and military training and organisation, and not in segregation of the groups, lies the key to the prosperity of the State and its strength to contribute to the safety of India. Assam occupies a strategic position in the geography of India, a position which in the changed world polity of the second half of the twentieth century is the most dangerous and the most vulnerable at the same time.

The frontiers of India are literally and truly in Assam and in the strength and the unity of the peoples of Assam will lie in large measure the strength and support of the people of India. Patriotism and devotion of these peoples cannot b secured by wishfulness or by command That the people of the hill areas of Assam can be made into highly useful, respecte and eminent citizens of India within a short time is apparent to any one who ha come into contact with them. Neverthe less the magnitude of the task is tremendous and the task is multifaced and will need single-minded devotion and concentration of effort of people and Government In this noble task of the uplifting of a whole people, of making the brotherhood of men intelligible to them and a reality and a great force of moral and material endeavour, it may be that social institutions like the Indian Institute of World Culture, Sri Ramakrishna Mission, can play a worthy role to further the efforts of Government on a all-party national basis. The problems o Assam are then, firstly to forge patriotic unity amongst the peoples of Assam themselves and their affinity with the Indian peoples, secondly, to display affection an real brotherhood towards the backward so called hills and plains tribals people thirdly, to help them to material an moral upliftment and give them equa honoured place in the State, and last bu not the least, to build up the economic prosperity of the peoples of Assam on a stron platform of social justice and not exploitation. In solving these problems will ari the following measures:

(a) To find large populations to settle o the land,

(b) To build roads, towns and houses b the lakhs,

(c) To increase the number of educated an technically-trained young men in t country a thousand fold,

(d) To increase cultivation of land in t hill areas and in the valleys,

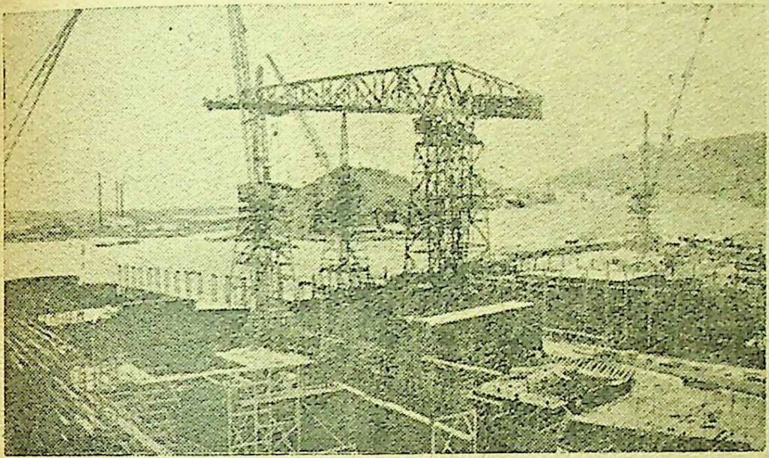
(e) To develop mining and to establis other industries,

(f) To provide power, transport, water a medical facilities.

In short, to find millions of you people to be employed and to place the in employment well and truly in a comm social economy.

HINDUSTAN SHIPYARD AT VISAKHAPATNAM

Within twelve years of work the Hindustan Shipyard has built 24 modern diesel cargo ships and delivered them to ship owners. Three more have been launched and are being fitted out. Keels have been laid for four, three of them being 9,500 tonners. The value of the ships built now exceeds Rs. 25 crores.



A view of the Shipyard

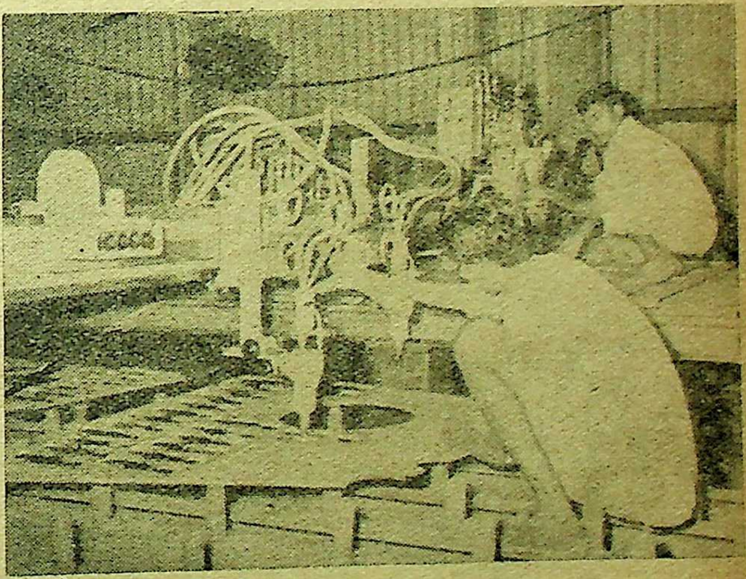
Just to have an idea what it means in terms of material alone to build modern ships, take one 8,000-ton ship of the type built in the Shipyard. The surface area of the hull of such a vessel is about 70,000 square feet, roughly half the area of football field. Three thousand tons of steel goes into its construction—the quantity required to build 360 goods wagons including their wheels and axles. About 500 tons of timber are used—roughly enough to build 400 four-roomed houses. Over 18 miles of steel wires are required for just one ship. The number of rivets and bolts is nearly seven lakhs.

The main engine is about 28 feet high and 25 feet long—about the size of a small double-storey building. The traction power is about 5,000 h.p., equivalent to that of four to five broadguage locomotives. And the ship can carry 7,000 tons of cargo, sufficient to fill 400 goods wagons.

The range of vessels built at the Shipyard includes cargo, cargo-cum-passenger, survey, mooring vessels, barges and tugs. And they are good, sturdy, utility ships, though pehaps the finish may not be as good as the best abroad.

That so much has been done within such a short time time can be appreciated only by comparison with little that was done in years before Independence. Shipping is an industry where tradition counts a lot. In maritime nations fitters, rivetters and welders have been at it for generations; with special acquired skills handed down from father to son; and all of them talking, breathing and dreaming of ship building all their lives.

Here in Visakhapatnam except for some higher technical staff—some from Bombay and some from Calcutta—rest of the people who were recruited had wielded only a sickle or handled a plough or fishing net. They had never handled in their hands a file or a hammer.

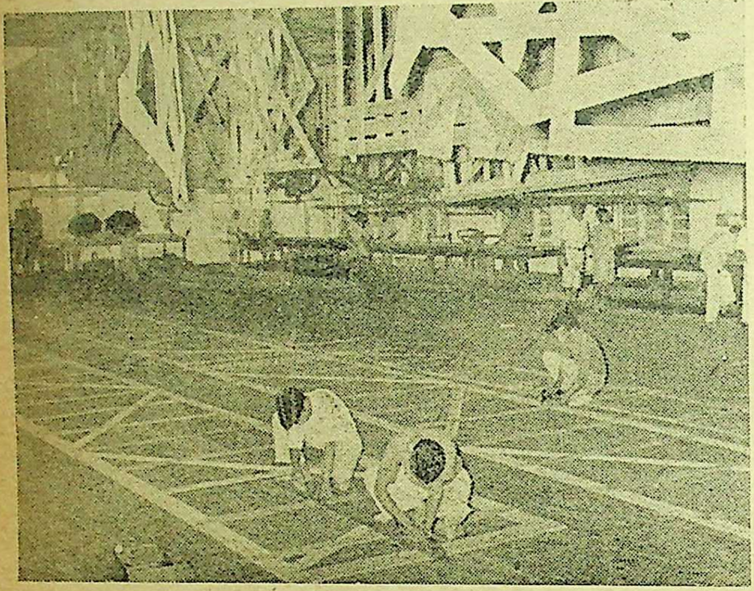


Electric automatic cutting machines

They are now doing a first class job.

Ship-Building Tradition

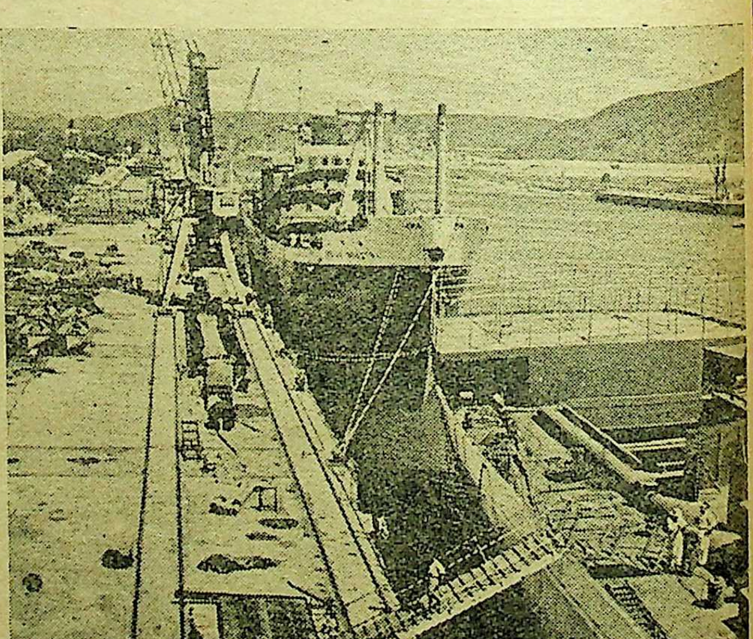
It is true ship building had reached a fairly high standard in ancient India. In the 13th century Marco Polo saw large Indian ships that carried 10 small boats slung on the side with 60 cabins below the main deck, mostly four-masters and with as many as 14 watertight compartments, separated by stout bulkheads. For those times these achievements indicate the highest degree of technical knowledge and workmanship.



The Design Section of the Shipyard

And later, the East Indian Company recognised the excellence and durability of India-built ships. It established seven ship-building yards in India and right up to 1840 a large number of naval crafts and merchant vessels of all types were built by the shipyards.

The use of steam power and of steel in place of timber however created a revolution in the technique of ship constructio and released new forces which the India ship-building industry was unable t withstand.

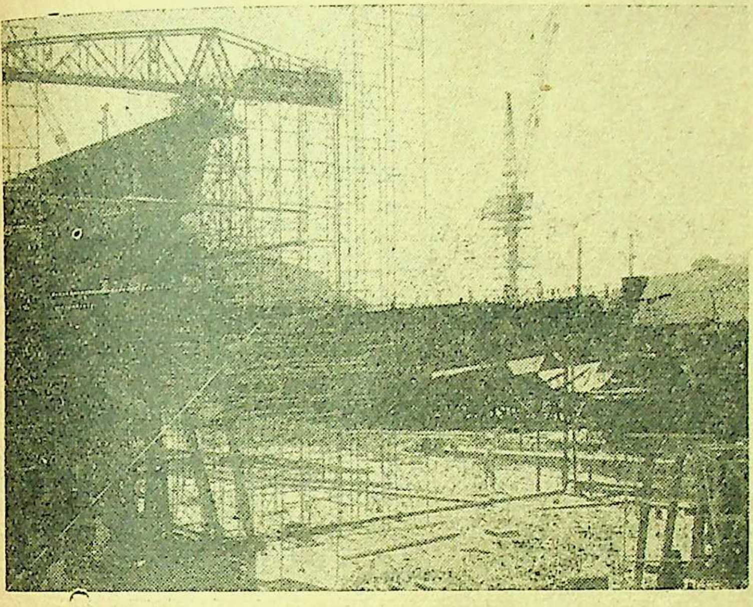


The ship "Indian Industry" being fitted out at the jetty

The industry lay defunct for about century until the idea of establishing modern ship-building yard i India was conceived by th late Shri Walchand Hir Chand, almost immediatel after the formation of Scindi Steam Navigation Compan Limited in 1919.

After various vicissitude through which the pionee project passed, the foundation stone of the Shipyard was finally laid in June 194 by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, wh was then the President of th Indian National Congress Owned by the Scindia Stean Navigation Company, th Shipyard was designed b Sir Alexander Gibb an Partners of U.K.

The Shipyard, as originall laid down, occupied an are of 56 acres of barren scrub land located to the south-west of the Visakhapatnam harbour. It was well situated for development into a compact and efficient unit of ship-building.



Two ships under construction

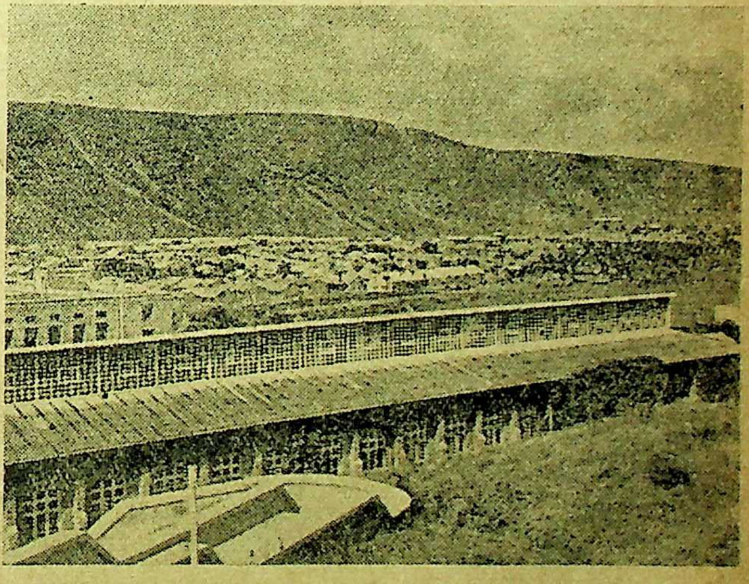
Development and Expansion

Exigencies of the peak years of war intervened to delay progress, with the result that the first stage of construction of the Shipyard, with only two slipways, was completed as late as 1947. The keel for the first ocean-going ship of 8,000 tons 'Jala-Usha' was laid in June 1946. It was launched in 1948 by the Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. Eight more ships of similar type were built by 1952, and considerable development and expansion followed in the wake of the formation of the Hindustan Shipyard Limited, a new Government-sponsored company, in which two-thirds of the share capital was held by the Government of India and one-third by the Scindia Steam Navigation Company. The invested amount is Rs. 5.2 crores.

Since then much development and expansion has taken place at the Shipyard. Three more berths have been added, one small one. The Shipyard is now equipped with four larg-size slipways on which ships up to 550 feet in length and 15,000 tons in dead-weight can be built, apart from a well-fitted-out jetty 1,200 feet long (which is being further extended) with heavy-lift fixed crane of 125 tons capacity, a large mould loft floor, a hull shop, a saw mill and a carpenter shop together with extensive storage accommodation, electric sub-station and various other small necessary units for ship-building and office buildings.

About 1,500 employees out of a total of 5,000 live in a modern housing colony spread out nearby over an area of 146 acres.

Further development includes extension of the Shipyard by 16 acres, a new prefabrication shop, provision of travelling cranes to serve the berths and extension of the housing colony at an estimated cost of Rs. 2 crores. This work is going on and the first phase is so conceived as to secure,



A view at the administrative building and of the housing colony when complete, a production capacity of four ships every year.

The prefabrication shop will be in commission this year. Two heavy 35-ton capacity travelling cranes have already been installed.

This would enable the Shipyard to adopt prefabrication on a large scale. It would make for easier material flow with the result that optimum time of building the ship from the date of keeling would come down to 18 to 20 months whereas normally it has been, so far, 25 months. In U.K. shipyards the average time taken is 15 months.

Impressive Progress Achieved Despite Handicaps

As one goes round the 72-acre Shipyard and the workshops and the administrative offices talking to workmen, foremen, engineers, accountants and planners, one feels a sense of confidence and pride among them, not only in themselves as builders of ships but in the future of the ship-building industry too.

One indication of that confidence is that the technical organisation since July last year is completely under the executive charge of the Indians. The agreement with the French Consultants was terminated last year.

New modern methods of management and production are being adopted more and more. Time and job standardisation is being carried out and there is an effective control on the day by day production, and there is more and more insistence on keeping to the schedule. This is all to the good.

There is a beginning in designing ships too. The present position is that designs are purchased from well-known foreign naval-architects. A new design section has been set up with a German draughtsman. A nucleus staff has been gathered and trial designs are already coming out.

Considering the handicaps the Hindustan Shipyard faces—and there are a number of them—progress achieved is impressive. In other maritime countries where a large number of ships are built every year the shipyards usually confine themselves to the business of hull construction and the work of fitting out and supply are entrusted to specialists on sub-contracts. In this way the work is carried out expertly as well as economically.

In India ancillary industries which produce equipment and fittings for ships have not developed so far. With only one shipyard with a limited offtake there is not enough incentive for them to come up. Only a few engineering firms in Bombay and Calcutta are able to supply some small items. The result is that the Shipyard has to depend on imports from foreign countries.

Special soft steel, the main raw material for ship-building, is not obtainable in the country in economical sizes or in adequate quantities (there is only one rolling mill in India). It has to be imported. With brisk ship-building activity going on in other countries there is usually some difficulty in the procurement of equipment abroad.

Shortage of freight space in shipping materials to Visakhapatnam and heavy demands on railway freight wagons from Bombay and Calcutta add further to the element of delay and uncertainty apart from raising the costs. Stocks of steel worth Rs. 2.5 crores have usually to be stocked up to keep the work going without a stop. This ties up capital, necessitates expense on storage and also leads to certain amount of waste of steel.

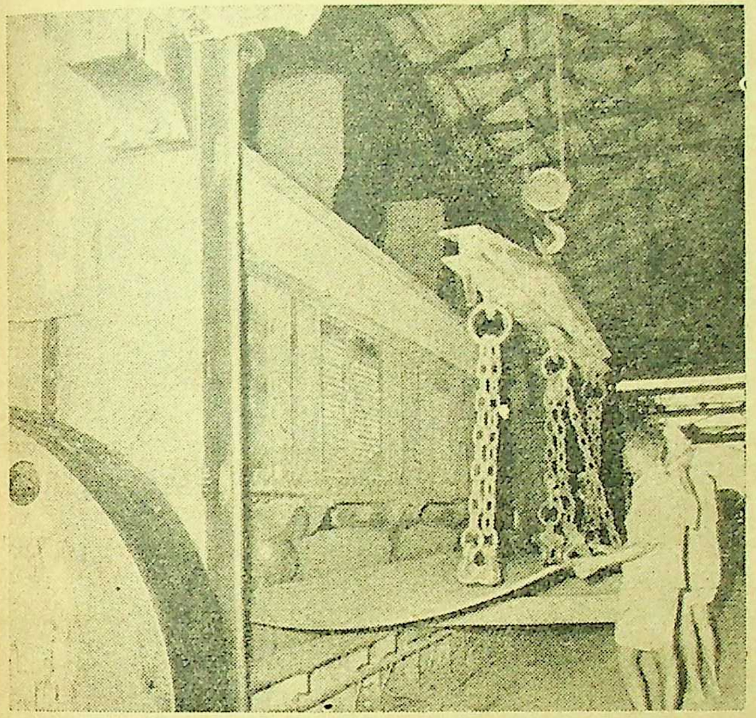
Another factor which contributes towards making the costs higher than those prevailing, for instance, in U.K. is somewhat lower output per man-hour at the Visakhapatnam Shipyard. It takes time build up a ship-building tradition.

To make the ships available to the Indian ship-owners, however, at a price approximately equivalent to the cost of similar ship at U.K. docks, the Government of India pays 20 per cent to 25 per cent subsidy—this being the difference between the cost of production at Visakhapatnam and the estimated cost in U.K. One cargo ship of 8,000 tons of "Jayalakshmi" class (being fitted out at the jetty these days) costs Rs. 1 crore 3 lakhs to the shipper.

actual construction costs at the Hindustan Shipyard come to about Rs. 1 crore 56 lakhs.

Closing the Gap

However, a number of factors are helping towards closing the gap. Production is steadily rising. In 1956-57 and 1957-58 the value of work done at the Shipyard was Rs. 2 crores 98 lakhs and Rs. 3 crores 43 lakhs respectively. This is 15 per cent over the production in 1956-57 which was 20 per cent higher than in 1954-55. This trend signifies fuller use of the plant and manpower.

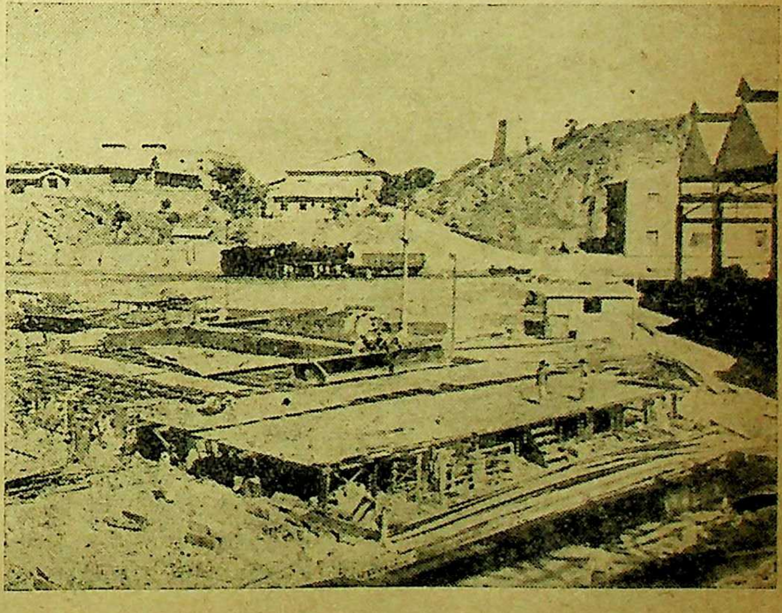

A sheet-pressing machine at the Machine Shop

With the extension of jetty and the construction of the new welding shop (both completed), more slipways and moving cranes and more rational placement of the hull shop and the other workshops—more rational in terms of time and movement economy—and more trained manpower, the results are expected to be even better. Planned standardisation of ship designs—two for coastal shipping and one for overseas—is also likely to make it easier to import steel in bulk and help in raising the production and lowering the cost level.

At present imports account for 60 per cent of the cost of a ship while indigenous material and labour account for the remaining 40 per cent. But, when steel from Bhilai, Durgapur and Rourkela becomes available, there will be a cut of 15 to 20 per cent in imports of steel plates. This would not only mean saving of foreign exchange, it would cut down production cost further, apart from speeding up construction time. The Shipyard has under existing conditions already saved Rs. 10 crores in terms of foreign exchange, apart from employing and training nearly five thousand ship-building engineers and technicians.

Training Personnel

On the technical training of personnel—an important aspect—the situation at the


A panoramic view of the Hindustan Shipyard

Shipyard is admittedly not satisfactory as yet though considerable progress has been made.

As for the higher technical staff, the Shipyard has so far absorbed almost the entire number of graduates of naval engineering from the Kharagpur Technological Institute, and trained them at the Shipyard and abroad. "Their skill, initiative and leadership is satisfactory. But the main difficulty is shortages at the level immediately below the foreman," said Commodore B. N. Lele, the Managing Director of the Shipyard. Foremen have been known to work 16 to 17 hours at a stretch on some vital operations which once started must go on till they are over. There is no choice because there are no substitutes available.

Commodore Lele is satisfied with the standard achieved by the skilled labourers too. "But they are just not enough," he says, "lots more are urgently needed."

One difficulty is that the skilled workman at the Shipyard has to be skilled not only in one operation but should be good at a number of jobs—one who can switch jobs. This is necessary in a Shipyard so that you avoid the problem of idle labour. The number of ships built every year being limited, the skilled workman cannot work at one job all the time. There is just not enough demand for that work throughout the year. So he has to be able to shift to another job to keep being useful and busy.

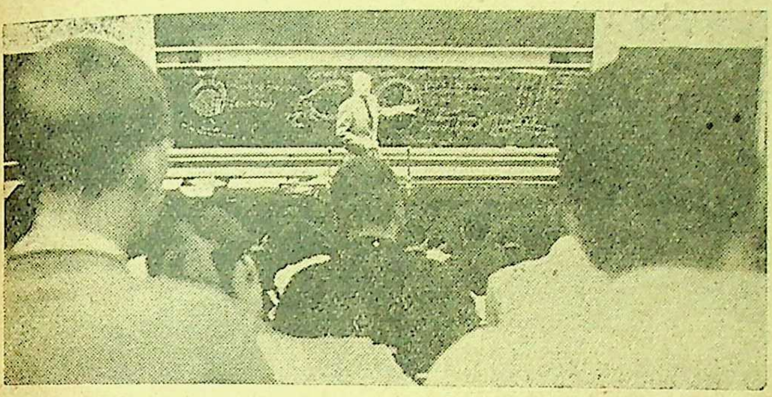
Owing to changing techniques in shipbuilding too it is necessary to have people with more than one skill. For example, the trend in modern ship-building is more and more from rivetting to welding. Whereas rivetting constituted 80 per cent of the construction job earlier and welding only 20 per cent, the present position is that welding constitutes 60 per cent and rivetting 40 per cent, and the chances are that in future welding might mean 90 per cent and rivetting only 10 per cent. At the Shipyard the younger man are gradually being switched over to welding; the older ones who have difficulties in adjusting themselves to a new skill have been kept employed by taking on orders for construction of barges which require only rivetting. It is a short-term solution, however.

To meet this need for well-trained technicians a full-fledged training school has been started in which recruits get intensive training for 4½ years in batches of 100 each. Boys taken from the Labour Ministry's industrial courses of 18 months also get a further training of 2½ years. Nearly 100 are already under training at the school. Now, more urgency has been lent to this training scheme because of the plan for a second Shipyard for which the nucleus of trained personnel will have to be provided by the Hindustan Shipyard.

To revive the great naval tradition of India is a great adventure. The total Indian tonnage is slightly over half per cent of the total world tonnage and the Indian ships carry between 7 and 9 per cent of overseas cargo handled by the ports of India. There is obviously a tremendous leeway to be made up. The Hindustan Shipyard at Visakhapatnam is really just the beginning.—*PIB*

A U.S. UNIVERSITY AS SEEN BY ITS STUDENTS FROM ABROAD

EACH year thousands of young men and women from overseas study in the United States—some in small colleges, some in big, diversified universities. Typical of the larger institutions which annually enroll hundreds of students from other countries is the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, Michigan.



Students attend two or three lectures a week, take copious notes

Recently photographer George Zimbel visited the Michigan campus and talked with many undergraduates and graduates from abroad. He asked them, "What is it like? How would you describe the University?"

They told him what impressed them most—the cosmopolitan nature of the student body; the wealth and availability of libraries, laboratories and other facilities for specialized study; the sometimes irksome system of required lectures and reading followed by frequent tests; the informality and challenge of the smaller classes; the friendliness, self-confidence and open-mindness of their American class-mates.

They commented on the approachability of the Professors: "They treat you as individuals"; on the pace of student life: "There is so much to do there is no time for homesickness"; on the academic atmosphere: "The superiority of the Professors, which is always there, is not imposed to curb the thought of the student. A student, like a common man, is valued for his common sense."

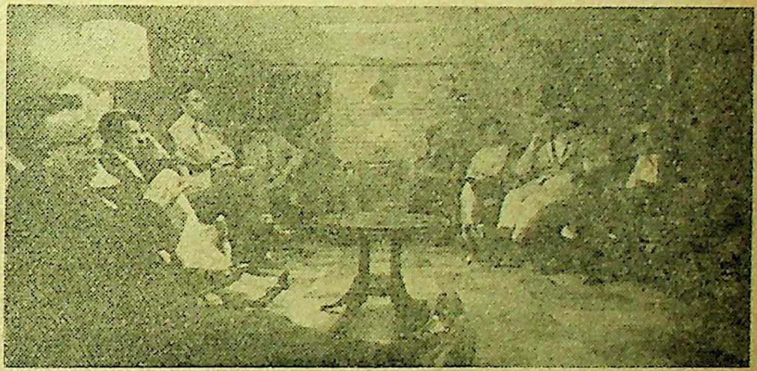
Guided by such observations, Zimbel photographed Michigan as if seen through the eyes of its students from overseas. His pictures and their words portray, with unique insight, a big public university in the United States.

The University of Michigan

The University of Michigan is a co-educational institution of higher learning and is composed of sixteen different colleges and schools and several institutes for advanced research and public service.

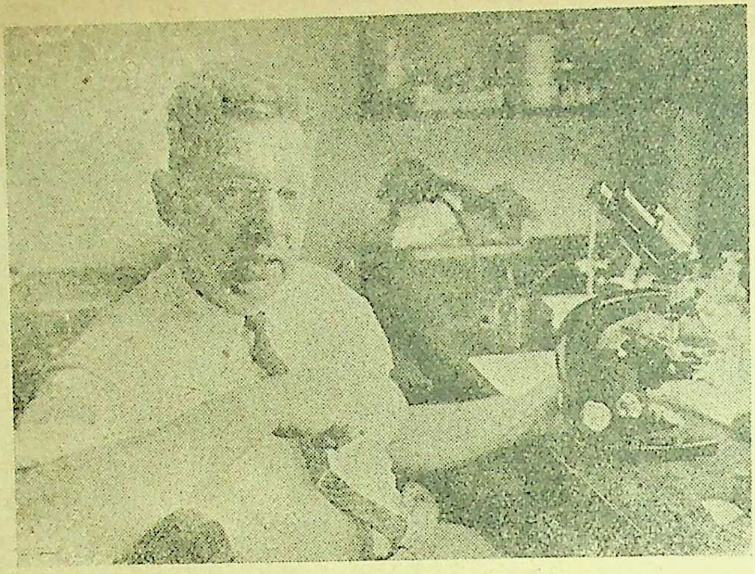
The main campus is located in Ann Arbor, a small city about 40 miles west of Detroit, Michigan. Flint College is in the city of that name and the Dearborn Center will open in the Fall of 1959, on the outskirts of Detroit. Extension centers in six other cities bring the educational opportunities and services of the University to people in all parts of the State.

The University was founded in 1817, while Michigan was still a territory. The Constitution drawn up in 1835, as a basis for the new State's Government required the legislature to support a university, and two years later it was formally organized and located in Ann Arbor. The first class of seven students was admitted in 1841. In the early years, instruction was limited to the classics, mathematics and medicine, but during the latter half of the nineteenth century several new colleges were established and since that time the educational facilities and the enrolment have grown steadily.

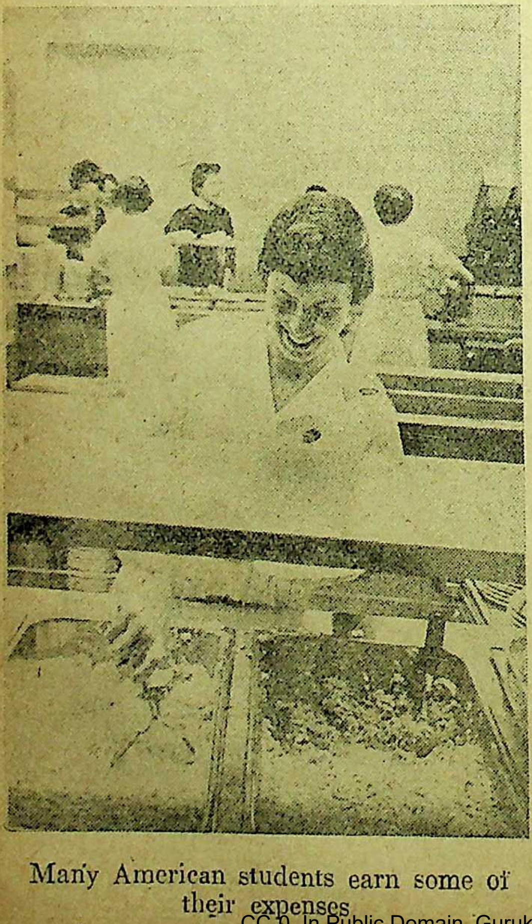


Harry Golden (*right*), newspaper editor, meets with an advanced journalism seminar

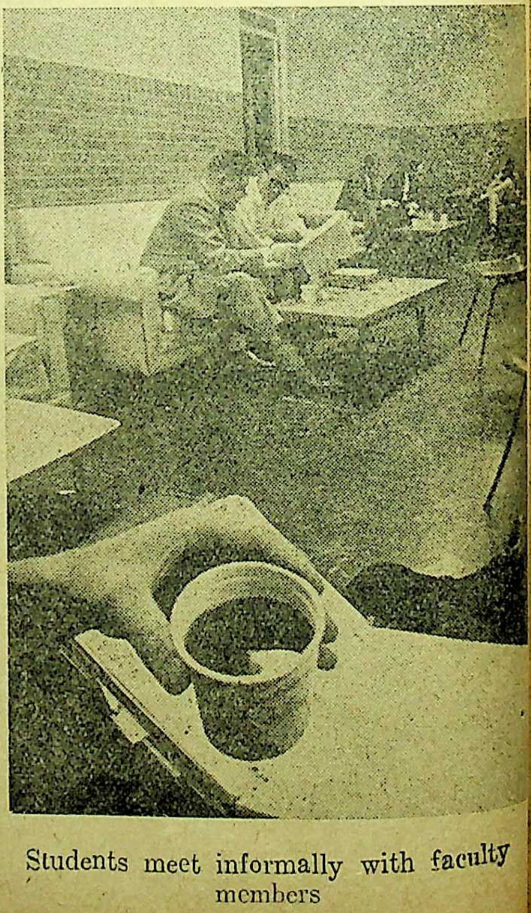
College of Architecture and Design, School of Business Administration, School of Dentistry, School of Education, College of Engineering, Flint College, Horace H. Rack-



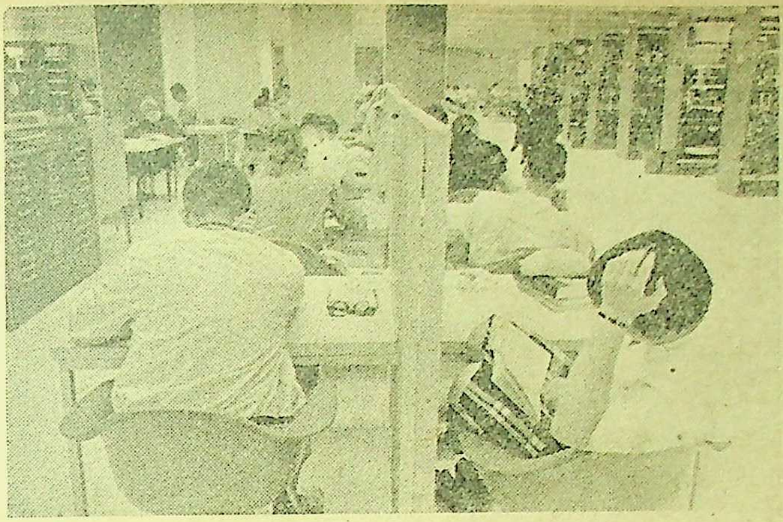
Professor Henry Van der Schalie, a world-known authority on mollusks



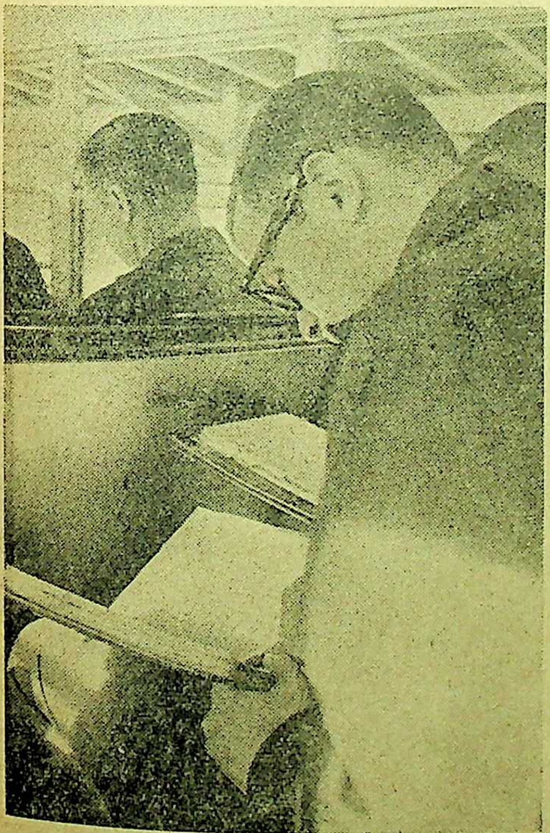
Many American students earn some of their expenses



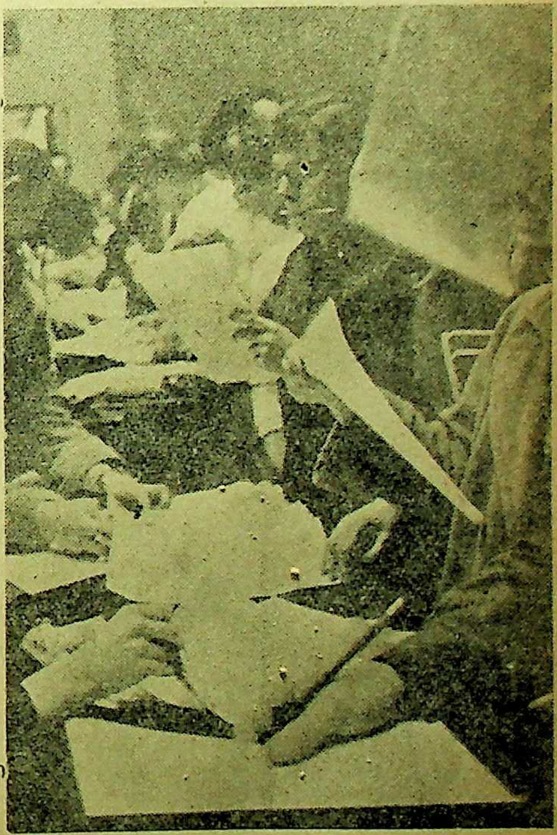
Students meet informally with faculty members



Students concentrate on their books

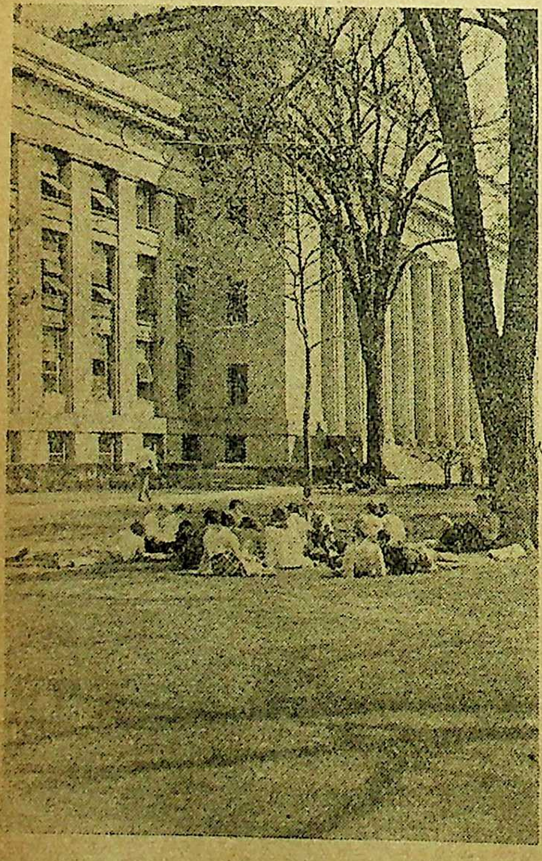


Everywhere and at any time you can see students studying



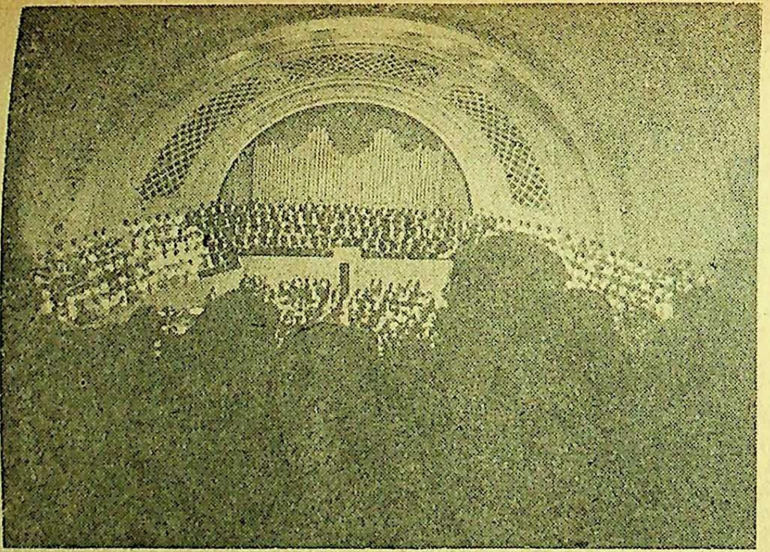
Anxious students search for their graded quiz papers

An American (*right*) introduces a new student to hotdogs and football

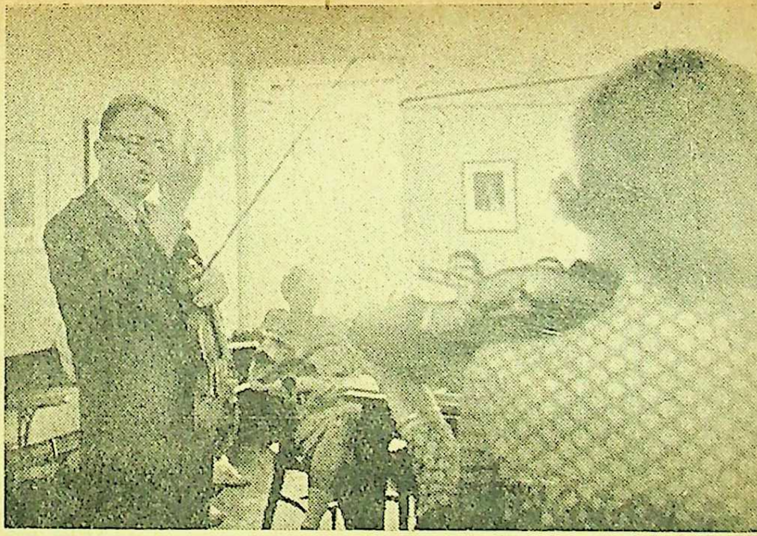


The Lawn

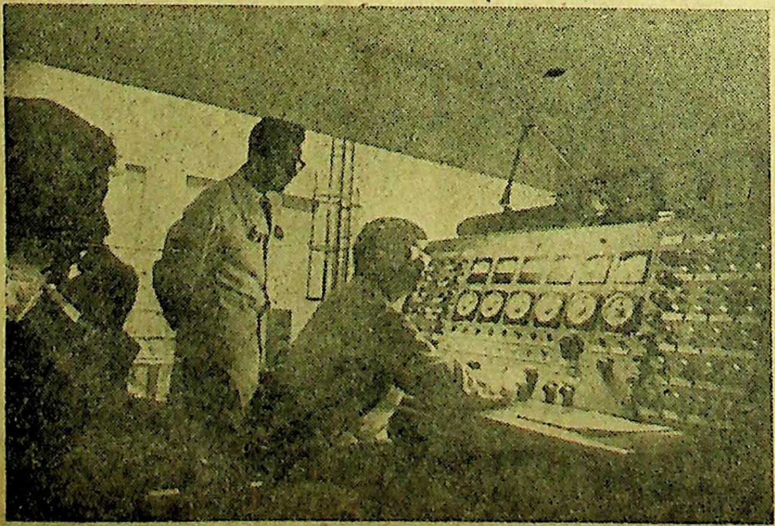
Professor Joseph Yamagiwa



Michigan students enjoy the annual May Music Festival

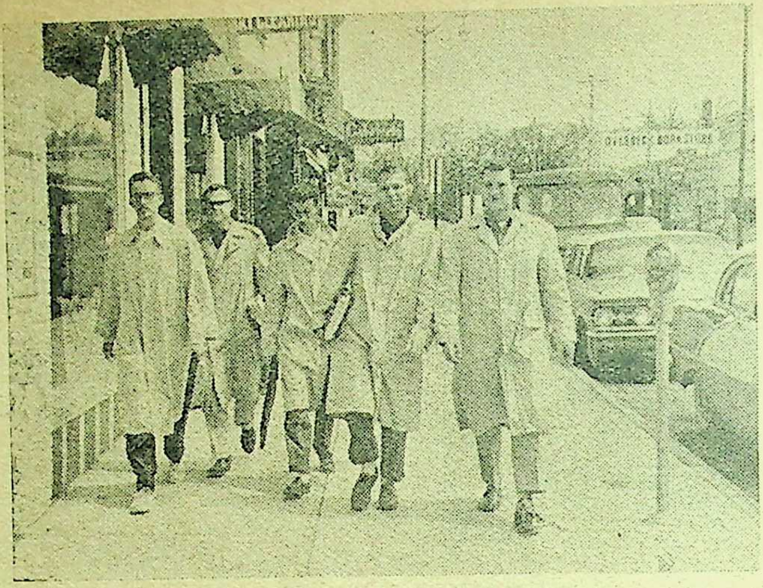


Gilbert Ross gestures feelingly as he coaches a violin student

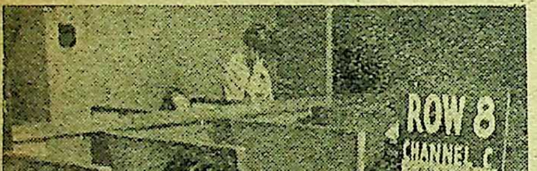


Reactor trainees

Posters announce subjects on different topics—all taking place within one week

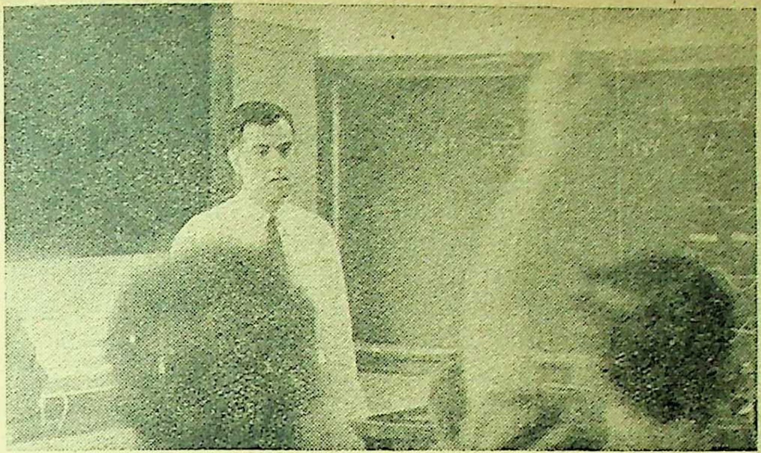


Uniformity of dress



A student working in a sound-proof cubicle equipped with tape-recordings and earphones

A student astounded by his bad quiz results



Professor Robert W. Pidd meets with physics class

ham School of Graduate Studies, Law School, College of Literature, Science and the Arts, Medical School, School of Music, School of Natural Resources, College of Pharmacy, School of Public Health, School of Social Work, and Dearborn Center.

Institute of Public Administration; Institute for Human Adjustment (including the Bureau of Psychological Services, Division of Gerontology, Fresh Air Camp, Social Science Research Project and Speech Clinic); Engineering Research Institute; Institute for Social Research (including the Survey Research Center and the Research Center for Group Dynamics); Center for Japanese Studies; Bureau of Industrial Relations; Bureau of Bussiness Research; Institute of Industrial Health; Audio-Visual Education Center and the Michigan Memorial-Phoenix Project.

During the spring term of 1959, 22,400 students were enrolled in the University, of whom approximately two-thirds were men and one-third women. Although a majority of the students are residents of the State of Michigan all the other states are represented as well as 78 foreign countries. Students from abroad numbered 1,524 in 1959.

The University is controlled by a board of eight regents who are elected by the voters of the State. The Chief Executive Officer is the President. Together with the deans of the colleges and schools he presides over the administration of the University.

Michigan students live in the University dormitories, in co-operative residences where they share the house-keeping work, in rooms in private homes, in fraternity and sorority houses and in apartments. The University has recently constructed apartments to house married students and their children. Many of the students take their meals in their living units, some do their own cooking and others eat in cafeterias and restaurants.

Approximately 150 clubs and extra-curricular activities are open to students on campus. These include the International Center, which sponsors social events, debates, trips and counseling services for students from abroad; the student Government; the Union and League, recreational centers for men and women respectively; athletics, both inter-collegiate and intramural; a daily newspaper and other publications; choirs, orchestras; bands, dramatic and debating societies and other groups organized by the students to further their special interests.

Several annual concert series give Michigan students the opportunity to hear such outstanding artists as William Warfield, the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the Budapest String Quarter. Operas are presented each year by the School of Music and the Department of Speech. The Drama Season brings professional theater to the campus every spring to augment the series of experimental, classical and original plays produced by on-campus companies during the year. Various organizations sponsor lectures by statesmen, men of letters and outstanding authorities in many fields.—*USIS.*

THE CHINESE WAY

By Prof. BIRENDRA CHAKRAVORTY, M.A.

The prevalence of Indo-Chinese friendship for hundreds of years in the past has made us too much complacent. But it will be a folly to think that what did not happen in the past cannot happen in the present or will not happen in the future. A review of China's relations with the neighbours on her South-Western Frontier in the last few decades will perhaps disillusion many about China's real intentions.

Towards the close of the nineteenth century Russian intrigues in Tibet, which was then a nominal dependency of China, alarmed the British. The new Dalai Lama was under the influence of Dorjieff, a Russian, and in 1902 stories spread abroad that the Chinese rights over Tibet had been ceded to Russia through a Russo-Chinese agreement. Consequently, the British Government could not sit idle. As direct negotiations with Tibet were hindered, a military mission under Col. Younghusband was sent into Tibet. The Younghusband expedition defeated the Tibetan resistance, and an agreement was signed at Lhasa, by which marts for the exchange of goods were to be opened, a war indemnity to be paid to the British by Tibet, pending which the Chumbi Valley would remain under British occupation. In the context of an improvement in the Anglo-Russian relations Lord Lansdowne, then at the Foreign Office, assured the Russian envoy that so long as no other European state interfered with Tibetan affairs, England would not either annex Tibet, or establish a protectorate over it, or try to control its internal affairs.

The British expedition of 1904 had thoroughly alarmed the Chinese, who now were in a haste for the restoration of the Chinese hold over Tibet. As the Dalai Lama had fled from Lhasa to Urga (in North Mongolia) in 1904, on the approach of the Younghusband expedition, Chin issued a proclamation deposing him, bu the Tibetans treated it with contumacy From Urga the Dalai Lama came to Pekin where he rendered homage de convenanc to the Chinese Emperor in the hope o securing a better treatment from th Chinese Government for his Tibetan peopl But when he returned to Tibet in 1909, h was thoroughly disgusted seeing the Tibetans suffering tremendously under a oppressive and inhuman Chinese contro He at once appealed to the outside worl for help against the Chinese oppressors an fled to India across the Sikkim border i 1910, and was granted political asylum b the Indian Government.

The traditional Russophobia led th British Government to give up her newly established hold on Tibet and enter into convention with China in 1906. Th Anglo-Chinese Convention, held at Pekin modified the Lhasa convention of 1904 b providing that the preservation of Tibet integrity should rest with China, and tha she alone would have the right to concessions in Tibet. Again, by the Anglo Russian Convention of 1907, both Englan and Russia agreed to conduct their political relations with Tibet through China, refrain from sending any agents to Lhas and seeking any concession in Tibet. Th result of the Younghusband mission an the treaties following that were disastrou for the Tibetans. Sir Charles Bell ha observed, "By going and then coming ou again, we knocked the Tibetans down an left them for the first-comer to kick Actually, the British created a politic vacuum in Tibet, and China was not la in filling it. The Chumbi valley, a wedg of territory that cuts between Bhutan an Sikkim and is within twenty-five miles o the plains of Bengal, was evacuated by th

British troops on 8th February, 1908, as the last instalment of the war indemnity, imposed on Tibet by Col. Younghusband, was cleared up by the Chinese overlord. "The absence of the Dalai Lama from Lhasa and the payment by China of the Younghusband indemnity strengthened the Chinese position."

Mr. Chang Yin Tang, the newly-appointed Chinese High Commissioner in Tibet, was an able man. In a short time he gained a full control over the Tibetan administration and lessened British influence in Tibet. He also "endeavoured to assert Chinese suzerainty over Nepal and Bhutan, an early sign of the danger that threatened India if China obtained a firm hold over Tibet." The Anglo-Chinese Trade Regulations for Tibet of 1908 worsened the situation as their effect was still further to push the British and Indians out of Tibet. For instance, by the Ninth Regulation the British "Government agreed that 'British Officers and subjects' (including Indians) should be barred from travelling in Tibet beyond Gyantse." Moreover, the Chinese violated various treaty rights including the Trade Regulations of 1908 in the following way: old duties were reimposed at Phari in the Chumbi Valley, and in Western Tibet, the Sikkim traders were not allowed to proceed to Kampadzong; a Chinese monopoly in wool and hides was inaugurated; and a consignment of Indian Silver to Tibet was stopped by the Chinese guards at the frontier.

But the Chinese were not satisfied with internal consolidation in Tibet; they endeavoured for external expansion. Mr. Chang Yin Tang informed the representative of Nepal that 'Tibet and Nepal being united like brothers, under the auspices of China, should work in harmony for the mutual good'—a tentative assumption of Chinese suzerainty over Nepal. And over Bhutan, inhabited by people of Tibetan stock and revering the Dalai Lama of Tibet as the head of their faith, the claim of a Chinese suzerainty did not appear unnatural to the Chinese. The Chinese representative at Lhasa, called Amban, once addressed the Bhutanese rulers thus: "The Bhutanese are the subjects of the Emperor of China, who is the Lord of Heaven. You, Deb Raja and two Penlops, think you are great, but you cannot continue without paying attention to the orders of your Ruler. Bhutan is the gate on the South which prevents entry (by the British). The Popon (the Chinese magistrate in the Chumbi Valley) will inspect your climate, crop, etc. The Deb Raja should endeavour to improve the trade of the country and the condition of the peasants. If you want any assistance, let me know." To counteract the Chinese propaganda in Bhutan and her designs against all the Himalayan States the British Government took the external relations of Bhutan in their own hands by a treaty with Bhutan concluded in 1910. In fact, China appears to regard the Mongolian peoples that border on her South-Western frontier—the Nepalese, the Bhutanese, the Sikkimese and even the Burmese—as within her natural sphere. But once, the Chinese are entrenched in Tibet they may prove a real menace to the northern border of Assam, inhabited by a number of savage tribes along seven hundred miles of the Indian frontier. "I feared Chinese intervention," wrote Sir Charles Bell, "and influence—and eventually a measure of control—in these tribal territories." In 1910, the Chinese troops advanced into the Khampti territory, and two months later a Chinese force arrived at Rima near the Mishmi border, and ordered a Mishmi Chief to cut a track from the Tibetan border to India.

In 1910, China deposed the Dalai Lama for the second time, but the Tibetans did not care it. Towards the close of that year the Dalai Lama wrote both to the British King and the Russian Tsar for protection. But none came to help him. Taking advantage of the Chinese Revolution of 1911, the Tibetans rose in revolt against their Chinese rulers and in 1912 the Dalai Lama returned to Lhasa. The Chinese army surrendered to the Tibetans in Central Tibet and the Dalai Lama restored his authority. But in Estern Tibet the Chinese were able to maintain most of their ground. By the Simla convention of 1913-1914, in which Sir Henry McMahon represented the British India Government, Chinese suzerainty over the whole of Tibet was recognised, but China engaged not to convert Tibet into a Chinese province. Tibet was divided into two zones, 'outer Tibet' (nearer India) and 'Inner Tibet' (nearer China), and the autonomy of Outer Tibet was recognised. China agreed to abstain from sending troops, stationing civil or military officers, or establishing Chinese colonies there. In Inner Tibet the Tibetan Central Government were to exercise their existing rights. But no sooner had the ink of the initials of the representatives of China, India and Tibet dried than the Peking Government refused to ratify it. Thereupon, the British Minister at Peking informed the Chinese Government on 6th June 1914, that England and Tibet regarded the convention as concluded by the act of initiating, and that in default of China's ratification they would sign it independently. Soon the Great War broke out, and China "notified Britain that, except as regards the boundary, she was willing to accept the convention in all respects."

The Dalai Lama continued to exercise his control over Outer Tibet till 1949. But the Communist Government of China invaded Tibet in 1950 and turned her into a part of the Chinese People's Republic. The Sino-Indian agreement of 29th April, 1954, sealed the fate of Tibet and India's traditional rights in Tibet were surrendered once for all.

As Afghanistan has been turned into a friendly buffer for the safety of our North-Western frontier, Tibet is our natural buffer against an expansionist China. The British policy in the early twentieth century was to resist the establishment of full Chinese dominance in Outer Tibet which would stand as a friendly territory between India and China. By signing away the death sentance for Tibet we have invited Chinese aggression on our northern and eastern borders. Dr. Davies has observed that "the importance of a frontier lies in the pressure behind it, the more populated a district the greater the pressure." From this angle of vision the pressure on the Sino-Indian border is perhaps the heaviest in the world. Though our frontier system has been adjudged by one historian as "the most highly organised in the world" it is by no means perfect. A great improvement can be made upon the road and railway systems leading to the borders. All-weather roads, suitable for mechanical transport, are necessary for pursuing raiding gangs as well as for developing trade and commerce with the distant frontier regions. Airfields also should be constructed on the flat tops of the border hills for despatching quick supplies to the border outposts and giving air support to the infantry in all defensive and offensive operations that may be necessary at any moment. But the most inportant of all, for the sake of uniformity and efficiency the frontier defence should be reorganised and entrusted absolutely with the Indian army instead of the police battalions like the Punjab Frontier Force on the Western frontier or the Assam Rifles on the Eastern frontier. The border patrols should be provided with the latest type of weapons and the best possible training, including mountaineering which is a necessary qualification for the sentinel guarding the Himalayan passes.

After the Partition of India, the task of protecting the difficult north-western frontier of the Indian subcontinent has fallen to the share of Pakistan, and for independent India the north-eastern frontier is the real concern. With an expanding China across the borders, enjoying a common frontier for over a thousand miles and seeking space for her ever-growing millions a well-organised defence coupled with a wise frontier policy is the need of the hour.

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowleged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

AN INTRODUCTION INTO LAMAISM. THE MYSTICAL BUDDHISM OF TIBET: *By R. P. Aniruddha. Vishveshvaranandа Vedic Research Institute. Hoshiarpur. 1959. Pp. 212. Price Rs. 8.00.*

The vast complex of faiths and practices making up Tibetan Buddhism (or as it is shortly called Lamaism) has been placed before the public for some time now by a number of European scholars who have however been often repelled by its apparent extravagances. In this popular work expressly making no claim to originality or even completeness, the author has attempted to present before the general public some fundamental features of Lamaism dealing with "its history, rituals, Tantricism and iconography". The author who is evidently widely read in his subject has freely drawn upon some recent first-hand authorities by way of correcting prevailing misconceptions. Such are Lama A. Govinda and Madame David Neel in the field of Lamaism proper, Edward Conze and George C. Grimm in the branch of *Mahayana* philosophy, and H. Guenther in the sphere of *Tantric* rituals. In the result the author gives interesting accounts of the Lamaist pantheon, the daily Lamaist ritual and the ritual of the mystic *mandala*, Tantric Buddhism and Tibetan Yoga practices. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the work suffers from a certain diffuseness. Another defect is its lack of proper arrangement as is shown by the long discussion of "the secret teachings" of Buddhism in Ch. I, the contact of European travellers with Tibet in Ch. III and the account of the Buddhist ceremonies of birth, sickness and death in Ch. XIII. We have noticed a few slips such as *Sutranikaya* (p. 17), *Devapriya* (p. 27) and *the Gandhara period of India in the 6th century A.D.* (p. 56). Seven appendices, an adequate bibliography and a good Index bring the work to a close.

U. N. GHOSHAL

LIFE AND LETTERS OF SIR JADUNATH SARKAR: *Edited by Dr. Hari Ram Gupta, D.Phil. Punjab University. 1958. 2 vols.*

The publication of these learned volumes containing side-lights on the character and the literary activities of our late lamented historian, Acharya Jadunath, in the year of his demise comes as a consolation to his countrymen who mourn his exit from the world without such an appreciation long overdue. The Preface written by the editor makes it clear how the impossible was made possible by the generosity, tenacity and the courage of Punjab. The preparation of a commemoration volume for the aging historian had, as it is generally known, been the wish of Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai and of his other admirers and pupils. It did not materialize because even venerable Sardesai could not prevail upon his younger friend to agree. When elders failed in their courage, it is apparently the youngest one who was pushed to the front by the University of the Punjab. After an emphatic "No" from Jadunath, few would have dared except Prof. Hari Ram to meet him with the same proposal again the very next day. However, but for the generosity of Dewan Anand Kumar, the Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University, and the son of a more illustrious father, late Raja Narendra Nath, this project would not have materialized.

Vol. I of this book under review opens with a learned Introduction by the editor. We are told how he had to slip out of Jadunath's house with his basket of mangoes that infuriated Jadunath (p. 5). Next to the letters of Jadunath to Sardesai, the most learned and informative paper is from the pen of Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, "*Jadunath Sarkar as I know him*" (pp. 18-34). It stands out a fact beyond challenge that none knew Jadunath more as a man and a scholar than Rao Bahadur Sardesai. He sums up the estimate of Jadunath as "the Gibbon of India." Dr. K. R. Qanungo's biographical sketch (pp. 35-54) adds some reminiscences of his apprenticeship in Jadunath's house at Cuttack. It lacks the warmth and vividness of Sardesai's paper. "Sir *Jadunath* and Lady Abala Bose were also known to have shared *Jadunath's* regard and affection" (p. 54) perhaps suffers from error. He evidently means *"Sir Jagadish* and Lady Abala Bose . . . ." Dr. K. R. Qanungo's paper on Sir Jadunath as a historian similarly suffers from misprints and confusion of names that need revision. He does not subscribe to the view of Sardesai and takes some pains to prove that Jadunath could not be the Gibbon of India. *Reminiscences* contributed by seven scholars (pp. 74-87), Prof. Nilkanta Sastri, Sri M. B. Kibe and five others throw very interesting side-lights on Jadunath's character as a man, which had been more or less a sealed book to the most of his countrymen, and sometimes a riddle to those even who lived closer to him. The story of the mysterious theft in the Ravenshaw College hostel, told by Prof. G. S. Das, reveals the fact that Jadunath's knowledge of physiognomy of persons standing before him for justice would have done credit to a Chief Qazi of Caliph Harun al-Rashid! (p. 78).

It was indeed a hard job to print Jadunath's letters to G. S. Sardesai giving us one hundred-forty-seven pages of solid matter (pp. 127-274), mostly historical and a few personal, the latter being more helpful to us in appraising Jadunath's worth as a man. Jadunath reveals himself as a political seer in one of his letters. (14th August, 1931).

". . . the Swarajists will soon have to test their strength against Britishers plus Muslims. The Hindus are so divided and so foolishly selfish that their majority does not count in actual politics. The atmosphere can clear only after a thunderstorm—after showers of blood." (p. 159).

Acharya Jadunath was a master of English prose which imparts an enduring charm to his works. In a letter to Rao Bahadur Sardesai he gives a piece of advice worth noticing by every aspirant of a fairly good style. He writes:

"In fact, the surest means of acquiring a good style is (1) to read aloud the best English prose—avoiding ornate and involved authors, such as, Dr. Johnson and Macaulay,—for half an hour every morning, (2) to avoid trashy authors . . . ., (3) to pause and revise frequently in the course of our own writing. This is the method that has borne most fruit with me, besides certain advantages that I had in my college life.

"You write too long and too diffusely, and hence your style is bound to suffer. I compress as much as I can . . . as I meditate before writing the words flow well-chosen out of my pen.

". . . Please remember that the elements of a good prose style include not merely the choice of apt phrases, but also the judicious and most effective marshalling of facts. . . . 'The half is better than the whole,' is a Greek adage, which Macaulay admires . . . (Vol. I, pp. 233-34)."

Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai's *Letters to Jadunath Sarkar* cover 82 pages of Vol. I. These are difficult to digest except by a specialist of Maratha history. We come across clash of views between two friends who, however, keep their mind open and readily submit to facts.

Vol. II contains 38 essays presented to Sir Jadunath Sarkar covering 347 pages of this volume. Some of these essays are illuminating and others also are readable and informative. Those who are puzzled by the contradictory versions of the same incident by eye-witnesses would do well to read C. E. W. Ben's interesting article (pp. 36-44). He is the official historian for Australia for the War of 1914-1918. He tells us that eye-witnesses sometimes repeat not what they see but what they pick up from others and add their own. Our historians and newspaper reporters relying on the so called eye-witnesses cannot afford to be too sanguine of the truth of their own findings (pp. 36-43, Vol. II). Prof. Dvornik's paper *Some Characteristic Features of the Old Iranian Political Philosophy* (pp. 76-85), opens fresh avenues of researches into the origin and character of the Law (Sans. *Dharma*) in the Aryan and the Semetic polity. Space does not permit us to notice individually other papers written by distinguished scholars, though some of them are promising fresh blooms in the field of research.

In short, Jadunath's Commemoration Volumes faithfully reflect Jadunath's varied interest in history of all ages and of countries of the East and the West. We hope that the volumes will receive warm appreciation and wide circulation. If this work goes to a second edition, the learned editor will do well to have the papers purged of printing errors or the mistakes of oversight in proof-reading; *e.g.*, "What is the kingly glory of *Indian* belief?" (Vol. II, p. 79). In this passage India does not come into the picture at all. "*Indian*" is apparently a printer's devil for *Iranian*.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

CHINA'S POPULATION (Census and Vital Statistics): *By S. Chandrasekhar. Hong Kong University Press, Hong Kong, 1959, with an outline map of China. Pp. 69. HK. Price $4.*

This small booklet represents the text of two lectures delivered by the author at the University of Hong Kong in June, 1959, and provides an authoritative introduction to important knowledge about the population of contemporary China. Dr. Chandrasekhar, who is regarded as one of the world's leading authorities on demographic studies, combines in himself a wide theoretical background with firsthand knowledge of China. The readers of this volume will eagerly await his forthcoming book on China in which he promises to give a fuller account and his opinions.

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

BENGALI

RASHI GYANADARPAN: *By Pt. Rampran Sharma, Kaviranjan, M.D.H.I.A.S., Palmist. Published by the Howrah Kustha Kutir, 1, Madhab Ghosh Lane, Khurut, Howrah. Ninth Edition. Price Rs. 4.*

The author is well-known amongst Astrologers and Ayurvedic pactitioners. He does his work so creditably that his book passes through the ninth edition. The present edition has been thoroughly revised and improved. The book begins with a general definition of Rashi Gyan, then it goes on to deal with the influence of the twelve signs of the Zodiac. After explaining the terminology the writer enumerates different kinds of human diseases caused by the planetary influence. He also suggests, remedial direction according to the *Tantrik* treatment.

In Chapters I to III the author deals with different terms of Astrology; it will help general students of Astrology. In Chapters IV and V he explains the usefulness of metal, herbs and jewels in respect of the nine planets. Chapter VI explains the nature and character of individuals and indicates special remedy for the bad influence of the nine planets. Chapter VII and VIII are the vital chapters of this book. In these two chapters the author explains the various kinds of human diseases. It will be of great help to those who believe in Astro-Medical theory and are practising in this line. The last, *i.e.*, the ninth chapter of the book is purely commercial. The book is an attempt at presenting the proper way of Hindu Ayurveda based on Astrological basis. Hippocrates, the father of Western Medical Science, says that 'A Physician without knowledge of Astrology has no right to call himself a Physician'.

NARENDRANATH BAGAL

HINDI

PREMCHAND AUR UNKI SAHITYA SADHANA: *By Doctor Padamsinha Sharma, "Kamalesh." Attorchand Kapur and Sons., Delhi-6. Pp. 201. Price and publication year not mentioned.*

PEKING MEN MERE TEEN VARSHA: *By Ko Ling. Navachetan Press Ltd., Naya Bazar, Delhi. Pp. 150. Price Re. 1.*

MAN KI BATEN: *By Tarini Charan Das, "Chidanand". Utkal Rashtrabhasha Prachar Sabha, Cuttack-1. 1954. Pp. 33. Price As. 8.*

Dr. "Kamalesh" has given us in his book, *Premchand Aur Uuki Sahitya Sadhana*, a comprehensive assessment of the many-sided achievements in the different fields of Hindi and Urdu literatures of Premchand,—that pioneer and prince of modern Hindi and Urdu short-story writers and novelists, but also a biographer, playwright, essayist, translator and writer of children's literature. The latter aspect of his literary activities and acumen has been perhaps, for the first time so well presented in any of the studies on Premchand. As such, this section of the book is the most valuable as well as the thesis that for Premchand, literature was both a lens and lever of life.

Peking men mere teen varsha is a Hindi rendering of *My Three Years in Peking* by Ko Ling, whose account of the Communist faith and philosophy with its apparatus of insiduous infiltration as sensed and studied by her during her stay in Peking, is vivid, indeed.

Man ki Baten is a symphony of prose-poems, dictated by the mind and the heart of the author as he observes love and like. They have the simplicity and spontaneity of the bird-song.

G.M.

GUJARATI

MANDUKYOPANISHAD: *Edited by M. P. Desai. Gujarati Vidyapith. Ahmedabad-14., May, 1959. Price Re 1/75.*

This volume is part of a series 'Rebabhai Patel Smarak Granthamala'—in fact, thirteenth publication of the series which started in 1947. As is known, the Mandukya explains the significance of Omkar. It also expounds the Advaita in its own way. The publication has included a substance of Gaudapada's *karika* in Gujarati to follow up the text of the Upanishad. After the preface and the Shantipath, the text begins, then the word for word explanation, the prose order, the meaning, the notes and then a detailed explanation. This succession is carried on up to the 12th sloka, and the part closes with Shantipath.

Then follows the second part dealing with the *karika* of Gaudapada. The learned commentator's place or status in the roll, his times (somewhere near 500 A.D.), the main principles which the commentator seeks to establish are given one after another—some of them quite fitting for the times, *e.g.*, there is no conflict between advait philosophy and another school of philosophy!

An appendix and an index bring up the end.

P. R. Sen

GREAT WOMEN OF INDIA

Editors : **Swami Madhavananda & Dr. R. C. Majumdar**

Introduction : **Dr. S. Radhakrishnan.** *Jacket Design* : **Acharya Nandalal Bose**

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Indian Periodicals

EXHIBITION OF INDIAN ART IN GERMANY

By Prof O. C. GANGOLY

While the study of Indian Art—the finest flower of Indian culture—is being continuously boycotted by our Indian Universities, it is receiving serious attention in Europe and America, and, the latest movement in this study is proved by a very comprehensive presentation of the whole history of Indian Art under the title: "Five Thousand Years' Art from India"—arranged by a group of German experts—at Villa Hugel, at Essen (May 14 to 30: September 1959), under the patronage of Dr. Heuss, President of the Federal Republic of Germany. Though the matter has been noticed in some Indian newspapers—as a pice of naked news-item—no critical appraisal of this great exhibition and the significance of its being held in Germany has been realised by any section of the Indian public—cultured or uncultured. There is an 'amusing' remark made by an Indian politician who had expressed "the hope that the Exhibition will serve a useful purpose and help the German people and others to understand the meaning of Indian Art and Culture." It may be pointed out the German people have understood the meaning of Indian Art and Culture long before any Indian national realised the deep significance of his own national culture.

Tribute to German Scholars

When Indians had forgotten their own culture—German scholars were the first to discover the rich treasures of Indian Literature. Of these studies the earliest pioneers were Prof. Max-Muller and Professor Shaupenhawer, both of whom were deeply stirred by the monuments of Indian Literature and Philosophy. The infatuation of Goethe for the Indian drama *Sakuntala* is very well-known. Hermann Hess wrote many years ago a "Life of the Buddha" and Oldenberg ploughed the rich fields of Buddhist lore. Paul Deussen and a host of other German scholars glorified the contributions of Indian Philosophy. But German interest in Indian Art is comparatively recent. The French scholars probably preceded the German in their negotiations with Indian Art. The earlier German scholars were pre-occupied with Indian Literature and Philosophy, and for the best Dictionary of the Sanskrit language we are indebted to the monumental industry and erudition of a group of German scholars and philologists led by Dr. Bothling. But the German excursion into the continent of Indian Art is not earlier than the year 1920 when Dr. William Cohn, later known by his brilliant study of Buddhist Art, for the first time championed the merits of Indian Plastic Art in Germany. Almost about the same time another German scholar—Dr. Stella Kramrisch—in an erudite monograph analysed the "Fundamentals of Indian Art" (1920), and later studied "the Plastic Art of the Gupta Period' (1929), with a comprehensive survey of the whole development of Indian Art in a little handbook on "Indian Sculpture" (1932). Yet, a third scholar—Dr. Hermann Goetz—entered the field of Indian painting by a series of articles: "Studies in Indian Painting," published in the German quarterly *Ostasiatische Zietschrift* (1922-24). In collaboration with Dr. Kuhnel, Dr. Goetz published a valuable document of the Jahangir period, entitled "Indian Book-Painting" (1926), followed by numerous contributions on various phases of Indian painting which have established him as the foremost authority on Indian painting, a position unchallenged by any Indian scholar. With this group of German scholars, Dr. Alfred Salmony joined hands to analyse the scientific presentation of Indian Plastic Art. And finally, in 1929, Dr. E. Bacchoffer contributed two monumental volumes on "Early Indian Sculpture" which still upholds the position of an exhaustive survey of the subject. German "occupation" of the continent of Indian Art is now complete.

STUDY OF INDIAN MONUMENTS

The latest recruit in the field is Dr. Klaus Fischer, who after a three years' intensive study of Indian monuments has begun to throw new lights on various phases of Indian Art and Architecture. His most original contribution is the "Art of Bengal Temples With Bent Caves" (Ahmedabad, 1953). Dr. Fischer's expert knowledge of Indian Art has been happily utilised by the organisers in arranging the exhibits in a chronological order, illustrating the whole evolution of the Art covered by five thousand years. The present exhibition is in some respects superior to the Royal Academy Exhibition of Indian Art, held in London in 1947-48, as in the present show the history has been illustrated by carefully chosen masterpieces—representing each phase of the subject—in an easily comprehensible presentation of a complicated Art-History. The whole evolution has been visualised through only 865 significant speciments—critically selected to explain not only the different schools, from the pre-historic phases of Mohenjo-Daro, period by period, divided into eleven sections, including a section presenting all phases of Applied Art, textiles, pottery, wood-work and metal-ware, each illustrated by typical specimens, altogether numbering 380 pieces. Sculpture and Painting have been illustrated by 44 items—which is a marvellous achievement in expounding the long history by significant emphasis on each stage of the evolution. Such a marvellous presentation is only worthy of the careful judgment of a group of art-experts who have studied each school, scrupulously appraising the significance of the chosen masterpieces with subtle judgment and connoisseurship. This carefully selected presentation has brought to light many little known or hitherto unknown masterpieces. The high-lights of the exhibits consist of (1) an "unknown" seal from Mohenjo-Daro (7)—a combat of animals—a composition of marvellous design and skill. (2) Three very fine terracotta figurines of Molhar-cult of the Mayurya period (55, 56, 57), (3) a realistic picture of an elephant with Mahouts, from Sanchi (75). A brilliant terracotta masterpiece is a 'Love-scene' from Kausambi (99). Of the Mathura school is a fine first century Statuette of Kartikeya (116). The weakness of the Gandhara School is represented by a seated Buddha perched on a small lotus—an absurd foreign interpretation of the 'padmasana' (126), and a remarkable portrait of a foreign convert carrying an alms-bowl (141); and several fragmentary heads illustrating different races of people who had built the Hellenistic colony in Gandhara (142, 143). The Andhra School is represented by a circular medallion from Amaravati and an Ayaka-frieze from Nagarjuni-konda with 'Mithuna' finials (143).

GUPTA AND MEDIEVAL SCHOOLS

The Gupta School is illustrated by several examples—the 'Surpanakha' scene from Deoghur (Jhansi), a late Saranath torso of a beautiful Buddha, clad in 'wet-drapery' style (161), and a masterly nude study of a damsel (167) as lively terracotta study of a domestic scene (173), and a dramatic presentation of 'Siva-Ganas' destroying the sacrifice of Daksha (183). Post-Gupta and Medieval Schools are represented by several unknown and less known examples—especially a 'Mahisasura-mardini' from Rajasthan (195). 'Dancing Siva' is not only represented by three stone pieces but by very fine bronzes lent by the Madras Museum. Early Chola sculpture is illustrated by a beautiful cult-image of Agni (289) and by a stone portrait of Agastya (291). The story of Plastic Art is brought down to the 17th and 18th centuries of which a remarkable example is a Procession of Krishna and Balaram—and a Durga on Lion from Travancore (328). The Section of Painting demonstrated by a series, of 142 pieces skilfully present the whole history of Indian Painting—including the Guzerati, Rajasthani, the Moghul schools and the Hill schools of the Punjab Valley—through carefully selected specimens. The high-lights of this section are: (1) an illustrated page of 'Rasika-priya' (453), (2) Baz Bahadur and Rupamati (357-a), and an unknown specimen of the Pahari-Poonch school of surprising realism and primitive strength (403). Altogether it is a brilliant presentation of the whole history documented by chosen and significant masterpieces.

SIGNIFICANCE OF ART EXHIBITION

But the greater significance of this exhibition is a new appraisal of the multifarious merits of the Indian schools by a group of trained experts who have probed deeply into each phase of the manifestation. With commendable courage the German experts have repudiated the popular fallacy of ascribing the origin of the Buddha Image to the Hellenistic masons of Gandhara. According to this appraisal: "To the technique of Greco-Roman Art was added the aesthetic idealism as evolved in India after the first millennium A.D. The Gupta style, that is the classic Art of India, became dissimilated in all directions, and, on the North-West Frontier territories, fused with the cultural achievements of the neighbouring districts to form a new artistic unity." The leading artists and the sculptor's studios of Gandhara, the central Indian Kushana capital Mathura, and the Vengi school in South-East India appear to have had a certain amount of contact with each other. From the 2nd to the 4th century the schools of sculpture responsible for the ornamentation of the Stupas of Amaravati, Nagarjunikonda and Goli, evinced such wealth and variety of imagination that Indian art for the first time seemed to be "l'art pour l'art". Loving couples are reproduced with great sensuality, seemingly independent of symbolic meaning. Quietness and restraint have been replaced by gaiety, passion and movement. The Buddhist stories are retold in two ways, one that describes the Buddha in the abstract symbols of the tree, the throne, the wheel, and the other that depicts him in the likeness of a human being. The all-over patterns of dynamic movement, the refinement used in portraying the female form, the fullness and extravagance of details are said to have been the consequence of new social conditions. The archaic severity and massiveness of the art of the Mauryan and Kushana periods, the wealth in iconography and form displayed by the Gandharan artists, and lastly, the delight in life and beauty during the Golden age of the Gupta dynasty combined to form an Indian "classical Art". National genius was expressed in all the arts, in literature, music, philosophy and dancing. For the last time, on the soil of India as she is today, the three great religious communities bore an equal share in bringing about the high standard of culture and tolerance. The ancient codes and regulations forbade "realism" in the reproductions of anatomical detail, all the same, flowers and animals were the artist's models and were combined in a new artistic unity. Never before and never afterwards was such harmony of object and form, mind and matter attained. At some period during the intervening 500 years between the 9th and 14th centuries A.D., creative forces were at work in all parts of the Indian subcontinent to preserve unbroken the ancient forms of a great stylistic tradition and further to develop and adopt them in harmony with provincial peculiarities. The region from the southern-most part to the Himalayas, from the desert of Thar in the west to Burma in the esat, covers an area roughly of the size of Europe. The sculptures of South and Central India, Orissa, Bengal, Bihar, Rajasthan or Northern India taking the development of art as a whole, displays peculiarities similar to those we find in the Ages, evinced, for example, in a certain iconographics community of expression in French, English, Italian or German formative art.

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East Indian Schools of Bengal and Bihar

The East Indian Schools of Bengal and Bihar excel in point of elegance, gracefulness, voluptnosness and mobility. In the North and North-West, plastic art soon underwent a transformation, tending towards an exaggerated lengthening of the limbs and a stilted awkwardness of movement.

The Bronzes from Southern India have right up to the most recent times, preserved the greatest measure of natural proportion and trueness to life. The "Baroque" Hoyasala style was a special development leading to the embellishment of the temple walls and its figures with ornamental details; this is particularly characteristic of all temples at Somnathpur, Halbeid and Belur, and the fragments from the two latter shrines give us an insight into this special form of Medieval Indian Art.

As most of the surviving relics of Indian Art are spread over many different and distant Museums it is not possible for an average Indian to obtain a comprehensive view of the total output and evolution the fundamental unity in its variety of expression such as it was possible to juxtapose in this great exhibition of Indian Art in Germany. India is one but her cultural expressions have been different in different ages and in different cultural areas, and it is only in such carefully organised assemblage of its multifarious art-forms that can realise their basic fundamental unity.

Our Universities have hitherto failed to present—in carefully organised illustrated extension lectures—the multifarious expressions of Indian Art, and our students file out from the portals of our Universities year after year without any idea of the rich spiritual expressions of India's Vishal Arts, which cannot be gleaned from her Literature or Philosophy.—*Northern India Patrika Dewali Supplement*, October 3, 1959.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The N. S. Savannah

Richard P. Godwin, William A. Hepburn and Paul E. Carrico observe in the *International Labor Review*, September, 1959:

The **N. S. Savannah** is a single-screw passenger-cargo ship with a raked stem and modified cruiser stern. It has three complete decks, and platform decks at various levels. Passenger staterooms are on the "A" deck; public rooms and the swimming pool are on the promenade deck which extends over "A" deck for about one-third of the ship's length.

The hull is subdivided by a total of ten watertight transverse bulkheads into peak spaces, seven holds, a machinery space and a reactor space. At load draft of 29ft. 6in. (9m.) in salt water, the **N. S. Savannah** is designed for a total deadweight of 9,990 tons.

The power plant is made up of a primary system (a reactor located amidships within a cylindrical containment vessel) and a secondary system (comprised of the main turbines and reduction gears, the main condensers, the feed water system, the turbine generators to supply propulsive auxiliaries and ship's hotel load, and the auxiliary diesel generators and auxiliary boiler to supply the ship's needs when the reactor is shut down).

The reactor is moderated and cooled by light water at 1,750 lb.|sq. in. (123 kg.|sq. cm.) above atmospheric pressure at a temperature of 508°F (265°C) and fuelled with uranium oxide of about 4.4 per cent. enrichment, which is clad in stainless steel rods.

The electrical system is designed to provide a high degree of reliability so as to ensure safety both when the reactor is in operation and when it is shut down. Power will be supplied by two 1,500kW turbine generators either of which will automatically take over all vital loads if the other fails.

A third source of power to remove decay heat and provide emergency power is a 300 kW diesel generator located above the bulkhead deck, which is connected to the 450-volt emergency switchboard.

For the crew the most important new element on the ship will be the nuclear instrumentation system. This system consists of ten neutron flux measuring channels that (in four measuring ranges) cover the entire flux range of the reactor from the initial starting power to 150 per cent maximum power.

Closely associated is the radiation monitoring system which provides protection for all aboard ship and for the nuclear power plant itself.

The general principle for the collection and disposal of radioactive wastes in the **N. S. Savannah** is to contain all solid, liquid and high activity gaseous wastes for dockside transfer.

Low-activity gaseous wastes, such as the voids in the liquid waste storage tanks, can be discharged at sea with dilution from a 1,500 cu.ft.|min. (42 cu.m.|min.) fan.

A primary shield surrounding the reactor pressure vessel attenuates the core neutron flux to such an extent that materials outside this shield will not undergo sufficient neutorn interaction to become important sources of gamma radiation.

The secondary shield which is attached to the outside of the 35 ft. (10.67 m.) diameter containment vessel consists of lead, polyethelene and concrete of sufficient thickness to reduce reactor and coolant radiation doses to the levels specified in the accompanying chart, which applies equally to crew and dockside personnel.

The U.S. Coast Guard, the Atomic Energy Commission and the American Bureau of Shipping review and approve specifications prepared for all major systems and components. These agencies provide inspection services at the reactor plant and shipyard.

Personnel with nuclear engineering competence is being added to the qualified marine staff of the shipping company which will operate the vessel. All ship operating personnel will be seasoned mariners fully qualified and documented by the U.S. Coast Guard; they will also be given whatever nuclear training is necessary to enable them to assume the new duties required by the propulsion system.

Selection of the operating agent for the **N. S. Savannah** was made from 47 shipping companies operating vessels under the United States flag. States Marine Lines, which will act as agent for the Government in operating the vessel, was chosen for its demonstrated marine capability and safety record.

Extensive environmental health and personnel health physics programmes have been planned for the **N. S. Savannah** to provide radiological protection for the crew, passengers, stevedors and shipyard personnel.

In initiating the nuclear ship programme President Eisenhower stated:

I should like to emphasise that the ship's reactor design will not be secret. The reactor will be built on an unclassified basis. It will be possible for engineers, not only of our own country but of other nations, to view the nuclear power plant and see at first hand this demonstration of the great promise of atomic energy for human betterment.

The Historic Plains of Delhi

The following are some portions of the travel-in-India diary of Sister Daya, president of SRF and YSS, published in the *Self-Realization Magazine,* September-October, 1959:

April 21st. We travel by car to Delhi. The trip is long and the roads are dusty but we do not mind, for we see interesting sights, such as camels carrying huge bundles on their backs while camel-drivers walk alongside their charges.

April 22nd. We drive about Delhi in the afternoon. Our sightseeing tour includes the beautiful U.S. Embassy. New Delhi, the capital of India, is an attractive city, with red administrative buildings and rich green lawns. History tells us that seven times great empires have risen and fallen here on the plains of Delhi. We see some of the ancient ruins, sad reminders of civilizations long gone. The most outstanding ruin in Delhi today is the Red Fort, built by Shah Jahan (who also erected the Taj Mahal in Agra). The Red Fort is in old Delhi about four miles from New Delhi.

The first glimpse of New Delhi is Connaught Place—a series of buildings circular in design, used for dress shops, hotels, restaurants, newspaper offices, etc. The streets are wide, lined with beautiful shade trees. The buildings of the city were designed by the British, expressing a blend of European and Indian architecture. We visit Birla Temple during our stay in New Delhi. It was on the lawn of Birla House that Mahatma Gandhi was felled by an assassin's bullet, and India was plunged into mourning for the Father of the Nation.

We visit the Ivory Palace, where we see men, young and old, carving beautiful figures out of blocks of ivory. They do delicate work with what appear to be primitive instruments. We make a few purchases—beautiful vases, and ivory pieces that we plan to put on display in the SRF Lake Shrine museum in Pacific Palisades.

April 23rd. We leave Delhi at 6:30 a.m. by train for Agra. We pass through beautiful and interesting countryside, dotted here and there with ancient forts and buildings dating back to the Mogul era. The ride from Delhi to Agra takes about three hours.

A little booklet titled *"Agra"* which I have purchased tells us that "Agra's origin is lost in the midst of antiquity. According to one Puranic legend, it was a flourishing city at the time of Lord Krishna and was included in the territories of Kamsa, his uncle." Modern Agra stands on the bank of the River Jamuna in which the beautiful Taj is reflected. The Taj Mahal is one of the wonders of the world.

Never before have we seen such exquisite work in marble or in any other material! The floors, walls, and ceilings of the interior are of the purest white marble the walls are decorated with inlays worke in floral and geometrical designs for whic emeralds, sapphires, onyx, and jasper hav been used. We walk from room to room reliving the days of the Shah, as the guid recounts incidents in the Emperor's life The center of the main chamber, which i octagonal, contains the cenotaphs o Mumtaz Mahal and Shah Jahan.

The mausoleum stands at a distance o about 1000 feet from the gateway. A water course of fountains, broken in the middl by a square pool with fountains playin throughout its length, divides the pave path to the main building. On either sid is an avenue of cypresses, tall, sentinel-lik and extending beyond them are flowe beds, lawns, and lovely trees. As one walk toward the mausoleum, one sees in th pool striking reflections of the pristi white of the marble background.

The beauty of the Taj Mahal moonlight is beyond description. There a hush all about us as visitors like ou selves stand, breath swept away by th exquisiteness of the scene. How to descri the beauty of the Taj ? It is like a gliste ing teardrop, frozen in the night, reflecti the softness of the moonglow.

Editor—**Kedar Nath Chatterji**

A pretty rubber-tapper of Kerala

Men and Women lend a helping hand in the building of an approach road in Rajasthan

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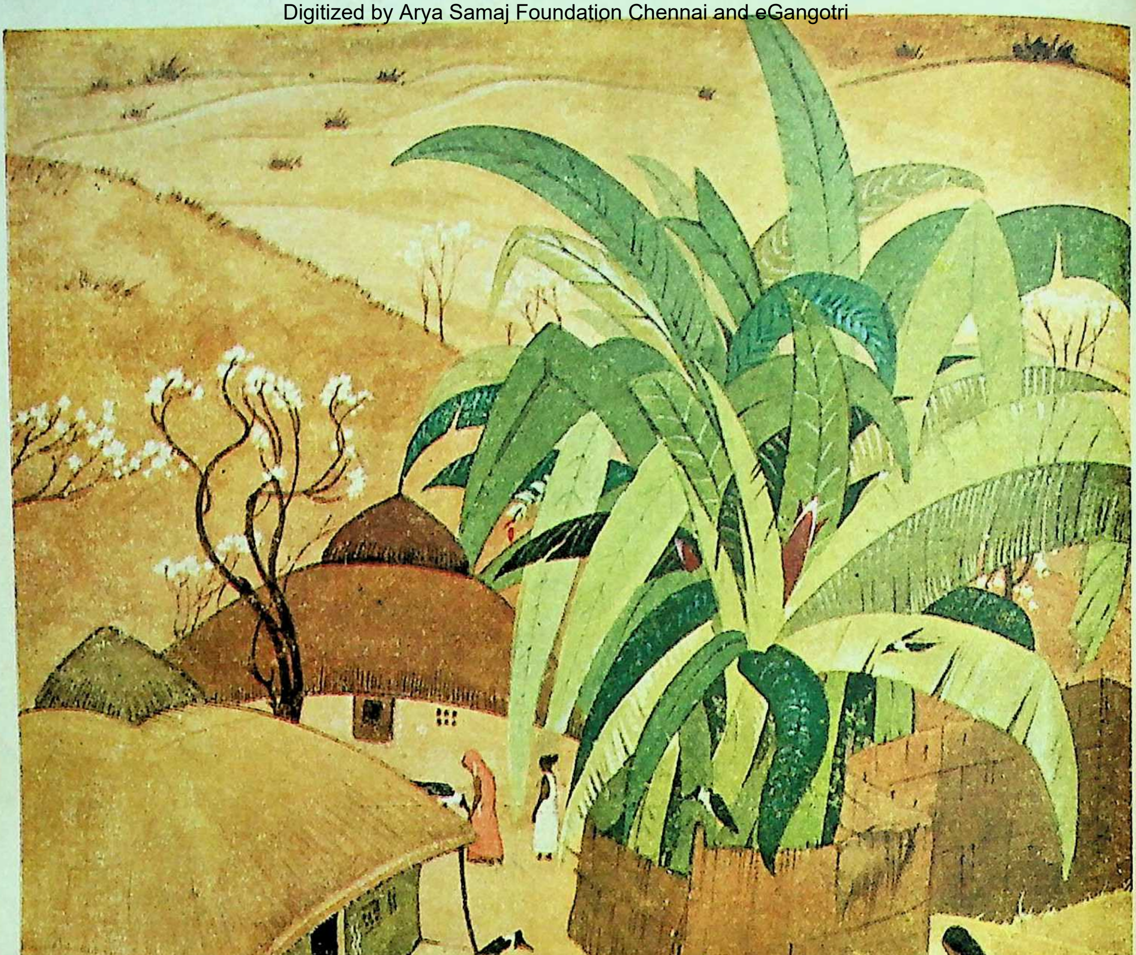

A BENGAL VILLAGE
By Gopal Ghosh

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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NOTES

Promises and the Fulfilment

There is a most excellent and ancient Sanskrit saw regarding the test and proof of quality. It says "phalen paricheeyatey" which might be freely translated thus: "By results alone shall ye judge all things that have been promised or postulated."

It is about time that this test was applied to all promises and pretentions of those who hold the reins of our Union. Lest we be accused of generalisation in the abstract, let us give a concrete example.

We have before us an excellent bilingual journal, which has been published by the **Adimjati Sevak Sangh,** namely, the January 1960 issue of the illustrated quarterly **Vanyajati,** which carries the sainted memory of **Thakkar Bapa,** who dedicated his own life to the service of the downtrodden Harijan at the behest of the Father of the Nation and carried out his faith unto death.

On the back cover of this issue we find the following principles, captioned **Panchshila for Tribal Development,** postulated by our Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. We hasten to add that this quarterly is published as a record of the plans, efforts and results, for the uplift of the forest-dwelling tribal peoples of India.

The principles are:

(1) People should develop along the lines of their genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage, in every way, their own traditional arts and culture.

(2) Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected.

(3) We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development. Some technical personnel from outside will, no doubt, be needed especially in the beginning. But we should avoid introducing too many outsiders into tribal territory.

(4) We should not over-administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes. We should rather work through, and not in rivalry to, their own social and cultural institutions.

(5) We should judge results, not by statistics or the amount of money spent but by the quality of human character that is evolved.

There is the signature **Jawaharlal Nehru,** appended at the end, to authenticate the origin of these Five Principles.

Now in the same issue, No. 1 of Vol. VIII, we have an article by Shri Dharmadeva Shastri entitled **Makrai Ke Adimjati Kshetra**

Men, giving an account of a survey made by him in the tribal area of Makrai in Madhya Pradesh.

Shastriji is evidently an old-fashioned worker, of the sincere and plain-spoken type, with no ambitions for political advancement under the present set-up, which can be attained only by sycophants and boot-licking yes-men. He has given a factual account of his observations, therefore, describing the misery of the tribal people after the change-over. Indeed, we can only see the working of the noble principles enunciated by Pandit Nehru in the breach and negation thereof.

The article is in Hindi and therefore we give a translation of certain conclusions arrived at by the writer himself. He writes:

"At Makrai I met many Adibasi brethren, who told me of the multitude of difficulties they have to face. Of them the following three need special mention:"

(1) "There has been no change in the status of the Adibasis living in the so-called 'Forest villages,' after the attainment of Freedom. They are leading the life of slaves and serfs."

(2) "This slavery is brought about through the yoke of debts."

(3) "The condition of the landless **Thalua** Adibasis is pitiable in the extreme."

Of course, the paternal Government has made plans and arrangements to relieve the poverty and to liquidate the debts of these poor children of Nature. But the working of those plans and arrangements have been left in the hands of those that Pandit Nehru and his sycophants deem to be above reproach. And, therefore, the shape that they have taken have produced the results recorded by Shastriji, after twelve years of Freedom!

The tribals are reluctant to go in for Government "betterment loans" he says. And why? We give a translation of another part of his report.

"A Gond from the village of Chabora told me that 3 years ago he had taken a loan of Rs. 150|- from the (tribal) Development Fund. But he had to spend nearly fifty rupees in the following way to obtain it:"

"Rs. 5|- to the Patwari."

"Re. 1|- to the writer of the petition."

"Rs. 1·50 each to the cashier and paying clerk, at the time of getting the money."

"Rs. 10|- to the Munshi of the office of the B.D.O."

"Rs. 27|- in motor fares and expenses for witnesses in the several trips to the office from his village."

Now we have seen what this poor tribal has had to pay in the form of **bribes** and **extortion**. What is left to our imagination is what would have happened to him and his people if he had dared accuse those myrmidons of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru of corruption, or Panditji himself of hypocrisy. The Hindi proverb "Rajaon ki bat, Hathi ki dant, Khaneka ek Dikhaneka aur" is undoubtedly appreciated by our poor miserable Adibasi brethren, for whom Pandit Nehru has enunciated the Five Principles as given above.

At the time of writing there is much debate and **halla** about the Third **Five-Year Plans.** The Second Five-Year Plans have advanced nearly half way. But has the misery of the Common Man—to say nothing of the unemployed or of the man with fixed income—been at all alleviated? We would like that a survey be made by independent persons with no eye for political advancement or of illicit gain. Can there be no formation of such groups in all the States, wherein the members are of the disinterested type of pure research workers? The Congress is as effete and tainted, with lust for power and gain as any group of gamblers. Could not there be an independent group of scholars, sponsored by learned societies, who could do this work?

China and India

China is a very large country with an area which is eight times bigger than India. China has 50 per cent more people. Per capita income and tax-paying capacity are more than proportionate in China, but generally speaking, India is proportionately more advanced in industry, science and economic development.

In point of military strength, China has a regular army, which is 10/15 times larger than our regular army. China's militia is of 10 million men. India can always recruit regular army men in large enough numbers as and when necessary. The Territorial army can also be increased whenever required. India is not in a helpless position as compared to China, but she needs better adjustments in the industrial field to be entirely self-supporting. With a little effort India can have everything for the army and air force produced in India. The compactness of China's forces and their cohesion and mobility are of a doubtful nature. Chinese soldiers are also lacking in martial tradition. The fighting races and castes of India can produce 30 million men of the age group 18—36 whose ancestors have been fighters for 3,000 years. They provide a formidable war potential in view of the fact that under the Independent Republic of India they are not likely to be divided and conquered.

China is definitely planning a Himalayan expansion. India has no such plan. Though the Himalayas can provide homes in a cool and bracing climate to 100 million Indians, if the Government of India will only think and act wisely. Power generation can be easily carried out in the heart of the Himalayas. Industries can be developed in the mountains. Dairies, creameries, cattle breeding, sheep farming, poultry farming, piggeries, etc., etc., can be set up all along the Himalayas, and the entire length of the range populated within a few years.

The following facts will give proper dimensions to the vague ideas that people have about China and India :

	China	**India**	**Remarks**
Area	9,736,000 sq. m.	1,269,640 sq. m.	India (1951 Census)
Population	601,938,035	356,891,624	574,205,940 in China proper (1953)
Urban population	77·3 million (13·3%)	16·25 mill. in 360 municipal areas	There are more urban people in India
Rural population	505·3 " (86·7%)		
Schools	510,000 (Primary) 53·1 million students (1956)	47,813 basic schools with 5,060,807 students (1956)	India also 239,118 primary and pre-primary schools with 21,000,000 students
Universities	15 (1956)	36 (1956)	
Students sent abroad	10,100 (1953-1957)	1,598 (1945—1951)	
Engineering and Technology	48 Engineering colleges	14 Engineering and Technological institutions.	
Revenue (Central and Provincial)	30,000,000,000 Yuans (1 yuan=2 rupees)	13,000,000,000 rupees	

	China	India	Remarks
Defence expenditure	7,960,000,000 Yuans (of which a portion went for administration)	2,500,000,000 rupees	China spend at least 3 to times more o defence.
Army	35 infantry divisions, 10 armoured and 3 airborne divisions and militia. 3 mill. and 10 mill. men in all.	About 500,000 men	
Navy	—	800 officers and 8,000 ratings	
Air Force	2,500 front line aircraft mostly fighters (MIG—17s)	Not known	
Production	Iron, steel, cement, paper, cotton yarn, power generation.	Iron, steel, cement, paper, alluminium, locomotives, cars and trucks, cycles, aeroplanes, jute, cotton, sugar, arms, munitions.	China gets equipments and munitio from Russia

A. C.

Kerala

It is quite clear that the leftists in Kerala acted in concert against the Communists out of fear and dislike of pro-Chinese-pro-Russian Communism and not on account of any love or admiration that they harboured for the Congress. The record of administration and management of public affairs of the Congress has been very poor during the last 13 years. The Congress has deliberately put persons of no merit and often of admitted demerit into positions of power; and these persons have blackened the face of the Congress by their unscrupulous, immoral and corrupt behaviour and by their total lack of ability and willingness to work for the good of the people. The Congress management has lost to the people of India thousands of crores of rupees, by extravagant, unnecessary and useless expenditure upon schemes which were thoughtless, whimsical, purely experimental and for the benefit of party men and their proteges. The plans and schemes were, in so far as industries or power generation schemes went, drawn up by foreigners who could exploit and bluff into agreement th employers, the gullible and ill-instruct Congress leaders and their **sabjantawall** flatterers. The Congress, therefore, cann expect to rule the country any long without a good deal of checking by t general public. The leftists of Kerala as we as the public of that province have no fai in the Congress (or in any political party and they voted for these parties only to ou the Communists. **It was an awakening the people to a greater consciousness their Rights**, which were being usurped the political parties in an organised a conspiratorial manner.

The difficulties which the Congr leaders are facing and have faced in Ker in fighting the elections and for formin ministry, have been caused by their dev tion from the moral and social path. Th have tried to build up a pattern of sociali without eschewing anti-social behavio They have tried to set up a moral code the public, by sanctimonious recitals agai drink, gambling, cow killing and m eating; without having any moral code their own guidance. Cornering the p man's food, allowing criminals to carry on their business of crime, allowing tradesmen and others to cheat the revenue and harassing those who willingly pay taxes in order to lay a red-herring across their trail of bribery and corruption. Contracts and commissions to "friends" in India and abroad and a general disregard of public good, public utilities, public health, public safety and public self-respect and honour have been the common characteristics of Congress Raj. If Pandit Nehru must continue to govern India by his fellow party men and his favourites, he should set up a special court of justice before which Congress-protected men could be denounced for apprehension and trial.

A. C.

Hapless Kerala

Kerala is a portent and a pointer. We, therefore, consider it worthwhile to discuss if from another stand-point :

Under the Indian Constitution a Government is guranteed a term of five years if it continues to command the majority. There is no direct reference to a situation as it obtained in Kerala, namely, that the ruling power enjoyed a majority within the Legislature but not, as the Central Government held, in the country. On the strength of this—doubtless a weighty consideration—a General Election was ordered. People of all shades of opinion responded with an enthusiasm, which is without a parallel in India. More than 80% of the electorate have committed themselves to a verdict one way or the other. In some constituencies as many as 90% went to the polls. Such a heavy voting proved the undoing of the Communists; and it is an unerring index that they had but touched the fringe of the nation.

Ballot box is a rough and ready method to test the hold of a party; but in the absence of anything yet devised to the country or as counterpart its validity goes unchallenged. The people of Kerala must, therefore, be presumed to have said a decisive 'No' to the Communist rule. If, however, it is a good policy to weigh the strength of the ruling party by a General Election over the head of the Assembly whenever there is a loud, insistent cry against it or even 'a popular upsurge', if you so choose, others being equally within their rights to designate it as an organised lawlessness, the Congress Government of many a state would fare worse. In fact, it is difficult to combat the notion that the Congress Government at the Centre cared little for the niceties of constitutional propriety and would not resist the influence of their brothers-in-faith in Kerala. They were chafing at the deprivation of power. On their own admission they spent over fifty lakhs of rupees to rouse the people to such a frenzied height as to make it well-nigh impossible for the Government to function save by brute force; and this is how they paved the way for a General Election. All the same, no house can be set on flames save by its own inflammable materials. The Communists alienated a vast section of the people by their abrupt manner of doing things. They stampeded the people into legislation. They sought to travel days in the track of decades. Obviously, their one aim was to all intents and purposes, for quick returns to stand to their stead and their comrades outside to make the next General Election easy. They too were not free from plausible charges of corruption and nepotism—may not be to the extent as the Congress and P.S.P. Governments had to face. People at large are too much in a hurry to bother about difference in degree; what they care for is the difference in kind, if any. Both the Congress and the Communists have been guilty of moral transgressions in swelling their party-funds; and people know to their cost what flagrant abuses they lead to, telling upon their nerves and resources in day to day life. The Communists, however, brought to bear upon their task hard, unremitting toils; and duffers in the Cabinet were conspicuous by their absence. They were a disciplined lot and very little, if any, was heard of their internecine squabbles and what ugliness they connote. Except for some flirtations with a well-known capitalistic concern no sharp deviation from their professed creed could be spotted out. It is also true that they made one genuine attempt to lighten the burdens of the poor—and Kerala is incredibly poor. But these good points were completely overshadowed by their conduct in the Sino-Indian border dispute. They have so behaved in this matter as to make them suspect and have been consigned to a sinister isolation.

The Congress—at least the West Bengal Congress has celebrated a day of deliverance. The one way the Congress, in our humble opinion, can celebrate the occasion is for their leaders to recall their plighted words to the nation and live in affirmation of the same. They would better reflect to what pass they have dragged down the Congress, such as to justify rubbing shoulders with the Muslim League—definitely not the Muslims—which, to quote the words of the late Mr. Jinnah, 'checked and held in abeyance the party that stood for complete independence'—First Round Table Conference. And all this to beat down the Communists, who, only some years back, were just a few trivial exotics.

J. B.

Revenue and Expenditure

All governments have to incur expenses for running the administration and for providing against internal disorders and foreign incursions. The governments of civilised and progressive countries have to grant social security to nationals, spend fairly large amounts for the country's education, health, sanitation and for setting up such industries and carrying out such projects as private enterprise cannot or should not undertake on grounds of public well-being and safety. Contrary to what we find has been done in other countries which are now in very good position in point of progress and popular well-being, India has chosen to go in for a certain state monopolistic development of major industries and for social welfare and economic development measures, ignoring the essential priorities that other countries have granted to mass education, unemployment relief, old-age-pension, comprehensive medical aid and a general elevation of the standard of living. The Indian thesis has been that if the State controlled the production of iron and steel, generated power on a large scale, developed the railways and bored for oil, the country would prosper and all people will be able to pay even more taxes by which the government will, later on, provide all those facilities of education, medical aid and social security which humanity associates with civilised politics. During their first and second plans the government have spent about Rs. 250 per capita on their own and exclusively thought-out schemes. Had these monies been spent in a businesslike manner on sound industrial and social progress schemes, there should have been some substantial return from these investments and the national income (Real, not Money) should have gone up noticeably. Employment and the development of other industries should also have followed at a faster pace. In fact, the increase in the national money income has been achieved mainly by inflation brought about by the government's policy of deficit financing.

The Budget that will be introduced while we shall be in the press will have for its main objectives, finding means for expanding expenses on further industrial and other projects and revenues for meeting increased expenses on National Defence. The attitude adopted by the Prime Minister in meeting the Chinese aggression appears to be mellow and soft and we may assume that he will give up territory to the Chinese rather than risk the use of force to safeguard our territorial integrity. We may, therefore, expect that Defence expenditure will not go up so much in the Budget, as we may expect in the face of foreign aggression. The Third Plan will loom large in the Budget and we shall be told how soon we shall be free from poverty and the other ills of material want. We may expect that the country will spend at least as much on these Plans as it has been spending so long. The increased taxes will be fairly heavy in order to yield 300/500 crores more per annum. These point definitely to indirect taxation which will fall mainly on the masses of India. For taxing the so-called wealthier classes has possibly reached its limits and increased income, capital gains wealth or expenditure taxes will not yield enough to meet the increased collection charges. If, on the other hand, indirect taxes are levied on essential articles of consumption the realisation will be less costly and the total gain in revenues appreciable. Assuming that the average person in India spent 70 per cent of his income on these essential commodities an extra 5 per cent realisation from these will give the exchequer about 400 crores more in revenue. The realisations may average even higher and one may collect as much as a 1,000 crores without destroying all life in this sub-continent. But that does not in way justify any extortion from a poverty-stricken people for fanciful purposes. A guarantee that every naia paisa paid will be spent for a high priority purpose must be there. The costs must be checked by independent persons of unchallengeable wisdom, knowledge and integrity all along the line. Dud projects and drone personnel must be cancelled and removed entirely from the Public Sector and Government Departments.

A. C.

Increased Freights

The Black Market has established the fact that consumer goods for which the demand is highly inelastic will carry any amount of loading in price, if the suppliers act in concert and if their cornering of the particular article or articles has been effectively carried out. We have been made to pay absurd prices by our profiteers and black market dealers and one may judge from the following from the memory schedule what can happen in the field of loading prices (See Table Next Column).

With all this experience and knowledge at their disposal the Ministers of India and the Merchants should know that the increased freight rates will be shifted quite easily on to the poor consumers. The howls of protest set up by Chambers of Commerce were quite unconvincing. The merchants have loaded prices already by 5% of the entire value and not merely 5% of that portion of the value which is for freight charges.

Article	Normal price	High black market price
Rice	Rs. 16/- p. m.	Rs. 35/- p.m.
Flour	Rs. 17·50 p. m.	Rs. 30/- p. m.
Sugar	Re. 1·10 p. seer	Re. 1·75 p. seer
Butter (imported)	Rs. 3.50 p lb.	Rs. 7.50 p lb.
Medicine (,,)	Rs. 2·50 p. unit	Rs. 15/- p. u.
Motor cars (,,)	Rs. 16,000/- each	Rs. 48,000/- each
Cosmetics (,,)	Rs. 3·50 each	Rs. 23·50 each
Gold (State controlled)	Rs. 66/- p. tola	Rs. 135/- p. tola
Steel	Rs. 700/- p. ton	Rs. 1,300/- p. ton

A. C.

Tibetan Gold

It is rumoured that Marwaris have already bought the stock of gold in question through Sikkim or some such party. If this is true the buying Marwaris must have paid the duty to the Government of India or carried out the transaction unlawfully. The Dalai Lama is not subject to Indian Law, but all Marwaris are. If the Marwaris have bought up the gold and kept it in Sikkim, Bhutan or Nepal, they should declare their profits to the Government of India for Income-Tax purposes. If they have not made any declarations, they should be prosecuted and fined heavily.

We are completely in the dark about this affair. The Government of India should make things clear to all and see that no private persons, other than His Holiness, The Dalai Lama, make any profit out of this Tibetan gold.

If the Dalai Lama has brought to India a million tolas of gold, and it is very likely that he has, the Government of India will have certain difficulties in getting over the problem of all that gold going into the Indian market. The Dalai Lama has come in with all his entourage, his moveable wealth and that of his entourage, seeking asylum in India and the Indian Government have granted asylum to His Holiness and his followers. In the circumstances it would look odd if Indian Customs Officials charged the Dalai Lama either Customs duty on his possessions or prosecuted him for illicit import of precious metals and gems into India. If the Dalai Lama then sold his gold to the people of India at the inflated rate established by our Government, we shall be paying a tribute to the great dignitary which may amount to several crores of rupees. If the Government of India took over this gold on a duty-free basis and released it for sale at bazar rate, they would be making profits on the goods of a Theocratic Ruler to whom they have granted asylum. If on the other hand, they kept the gold in the vaults of the Reserve Bank of India and paid out several crores of rupees to the Dalai Lama, the effect will be inflationary. They can also ship the gold to America and obtain foreign currency for it; but, then, whose foreign currency will it be, the Government of India's or the Dalai Lama's?

A. C.

Bhilai Firing

The workers at Bhilai according to press reports felt and experienced that safety arrangements were insufficient in Bhilai and that workmen's compensation monies were not paid out to the sufferers or their heirs within a reasonable period. This led to a dispute, and, government and government officers having different standards of employer-employee relations for government-owned factories as against those owned privately; possibly ignored the demands with an air of superiority and almightiness. This must have been the case at least to a great extent as it all led to a **satyagraha** by fasting on the part of one worker. The Bhilai officers supported by their fellow government servants evidently tried to break down this resistance. One officer tried to see the fasting man and the public got enraged and burnt down two government owned jeeps. The police started firing immediately and "brought the situation under control." We are not convinced ever that the government have any right to **create situations** and, then, bring them under control by use of brute force. They say (pedagogues) that children should not be beaten, for that teaches them to use violence. These firings teach our simple folk that violence is nothing very bad. For what is good for the **Rajah** is also good for the **Ryot.** In fact, the Bhilai situation is not quite so simple as has been made to appear in the first press reports. There are not only the matter of workmens' compensation and the lack of safety arrangements, but the workers of Bhilai have been feeling that the were not being treated fairly and humanely in many ways. Employment, promotions, increments, retrenchments and all those other factors which determine good relations between employers and their employees, must have been mishandled by doctrinaire personnel experts and those who worship Red Tape. Otherwise the workers are not inclined to indulge in rioting, sabotage and general lawlessness. They often make unreasonable demands in the hope that the two sets of unreason on the two sides, employers' and workers' will cross each other out and a settlement will be made which will be reasonable. In the present case, the unreason clouding the brain of government officers, apparently did not clear up and allow the light of reason to illuminate industrial relations in Bhilai. Government management of industrial relations have been far from satisfactory in more than one field since the 1920s. Our independent Government have been maintaining the British imperial tradition and that is why we ha trouble. In Britain itself industrial relations have developed and are very good and reasonable.

A. C.

More Bhilai

If one were given some straw and bamboo instead of a house to live in, one might legitimately harbour a grievance. The more so if other people in the same locality lived in houses built by builders. It appears that Bhilai workers who were employed by the State for construction work were living in houses which they had built for themselves with material supplied to them by their employers. Contractor's labour in the same area lived in well-built houses put up by the contractors. This has been going on ever since Bhilai began and the State officials have been basking in the sun-shine of their own genius which enabled them to think out such a cheap solution for the housing problem at Bhilai! And, they paid them Rs. 48|- per month "in all" to build a steel factory! Considering that chaprassis who sit and belch in Bombay in Calcutta in Mercantile houses receive about Rs. 150|- per month and that even women workers earn double of Rs. 48|- in Jamshedpur, we feel the Bhilai workers had a grievance. Now that the relations between workers and employers have been ruined by the bureaucrats we suppose they will try to spend more public money in the wrong places to "arrest any worsening of the situation". A lot of people also died of accidents in Bhilai due to their "negligence and intransigence". What about their superiors, who are now writing such illuminating "post mortem" reports? Did not they suffer from any physical or mental shortcomings? Or, why did they allow the poor workers to march to their lawless destiny along the path of unreason? A bad workman quarrels with his tools!

A. C.

Cost of Public Constructions

After a full "yuga" (12 years) Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has suddenly woken up to the facts that public constructions are habitually carried out at such costs as are neither necessary (nor, perhaps, are really and truly the genuine costs) nor supported by reasons of modern requirements of sound construction. He has not said, even now, that the Congress-sponsored contractors have been cheating the public of India or that they have been permitted to cheat because they purchased the silent connivance of Government servants. Nor has he said that he knows and surely suspects that a lot of Congressmen, including persons holding important posts have been guilty of participating in the "loot." Pandit Nehru likes to slur over things and to make things easy for criminals. In this he is an equal of the late lamented Count Leo Tolstoy · who said, "Resist not evil," for evil will cure itself through an awakening of the soul. Poor Count Leo Tolstoy and his follower Pandit Nehru never realised that the only method by which the soul can be awakened is a generous and vigorous use of the rod. We may say at this point that public works all over India and the work done for the public sector in industry have enriched more thieves in 10 years than have been enriched through the laxness and willing co-operation of the Indian police during the last one hundred years.

A. C.

No Shirking Please

It looks very much like things moving in a vicious circle. The more Mr. Nehru opposes a tribunal to inquire into the charges of corruption, the materials of which Mr. C. D. Deshmukh claims to be in possession of, the more is the desire of the lay public tightened for one such. The moral authority, that belongs to Mr. Deshmukh, tips the scale in its favour. We do not feel happy to see how Mr. Nehru consistently shies at any tribunal. His observation with regard to the Chagla Commission going out of bounds, his lack of balance in respect of Mr. Krishnamachary's alleged part in Life Insurance investment scandal and his rather intemperate language against Justice Vivian Bose still rankle in public memory. He flares up at the suggestion of an investigation into mal-practices, imputed to his colleagues, nay, once even against a Secretary of his. All this, we have no hesitation to say, is possibly for the reason that he is too refined a taste and is constitutionally averse to any dirty linen being washed in the public. Nonetheless, as the administrative head of this vast country, it is religiously incumbent upon **him to track** down the morally undesirables. They tend to make it inevitable to tar all with the same brush.

It is an unwritten Law, but which has the sanctity of one of the musts in a civilized set-up, that those who are at the helm of affairs must conduct themselves such as to justify the rank and file to believe that they are aboveboard. Nothing spreads so contagiously as corrupt deals invariably do from the top to the level below. This is why we are always for a thorough inquiry into all such charges. It is sheer petulance to stigmatise those who make the charges as bazzar people. We are, however, definitely of opinion that it is only when a prima facie case has been made out that there is room for a tribunal or commission of inquiry. A permanent tribunal is too ponderous a charge. Rather, we suggest, for what it is worth, that an all-India Standing Committee with a judicial leaven, functioning in circuit, be instituted. Pitted against Pakistan's relentless drive for a clean sweep of corrupt personnel in the administration, Minister downwards, judgement has gone against us in default. We certainly do not approve of any harshness or wholesale screening. It is sore against an enlightened rule, but the other unsavoury end is as much and a blot.

J. B.

Ceylon Measures Against Indians

Ceylon has about 2 million Indians who form 25 per cent of the population of the island. Of these half are born as Ceylonese subjects and the other half are immigrants who have gone over to Ceylon to work in their rubber, tea and coconut plantations. To the best of our knowledge the Ceylonese gained quite a lot by the labour that the Indians put in their soil. Now the Ceylonese want to get rid of the Indians. A very good way to get rid of workers who have enriched their country would be to give the workers a share of that wealth (the values that were created by their effort but not given to them in the shape of wages) and to let them go. The people of Ceylon have been getting work done by Indians over a hundred years. Even if a hundred thousand men and women had put in work there on an average for 50 years in all, the surplus values of that work will be nothing less than Rs. 500 × 100,000 × 50 = Rs. 25,000,000,000 (Two thousand and five hundred crores of rupees). Half of that will be 1,250 crores. This amount may be paid to the retiring workers or to the Indian Government who will then repatriate the immigrant Indians from Ceylon. Ceylon can also settle this for an annual payment of 125 crores for ever (10 per cent on capital) which will be used to rehabilitate these workers who have helped to enrich Ceylon and are now required to be discarded on racial grounds.

But the Ceylonese wish to disclaim responsibility and want to forcibly eject these men without paying suitable compensation to them. They have even suggested that a lot of workers or their relations are still entering Ceylon without permission of the Ceylonese Government. If they are, there must be a good reason for it, viz., that the Ceylonese Government are not permitting them to enter Ceylon to visit their kith and kin. The Ceylon Government are also entertaining a proposal for legislation against such entrants which will permit the Ceylon police to **shoot such entrants at sight**! The clever proposer, of course, has not taken the trouble to describe the methods by which the Ceylon police will know **at sight** that a person has entered Ceylon without proper permit papers. Nor whether only Indians entering Ceylon unlawfully will be shot or the entire world will be informed by Ceylon that whosoever has the Temerity to violate the immigration laws of the mighty island government will be shot at sight! We had been worrying about the mental balance of the Ceylonese politicians ever since the Bandaranaike incident, but we had no idea things had gone so far.

A. C.

"Unnatural"

The word "unnatural" has different meanings. According to the Oxford Dictionary, the word came into use in the late middle English period (1350—1450 A.D.) and meant "not in accordance with the physical nature of persons or animals." In 1513 A.D., it was used in the sense "not in accordance with the usual course of nature." In 1516, it acquired the meaning "monstrous" or "abnormal." In 1746, it was used to mean "Devoid of natural qualities or characteristics; artificial." It also meant at different times "outraging natural feeling or moral standards, monstrously cruel or wicked (1529). At variance with what is natural, usual, or expected, unusual, strange (1586)."

Acharya Vinoba Bhave recently pronounced an opinion on ownership of land. He said, "Whenever I find people owning land, I do feel that they are committing an offence. Nobody takes away land with him after his death. The very idea of ownership of land is unnatural." He said ownership of land was not prevalent in ancient times in India and that it had been brought to India by the British rulers.

It will, of course, be unkind to criticise the opinion given by a good man; but we cannot agree with Acharya Bhave about his theory of unnaturalness of all ownership of land. It is not contrary to human or animal nature to own land. It is not monstrous or abnormal nor is it devoid of natural qualities and characteristics. It has perhaps "outraged" Acharya Bhave's "natural feeling and moral standards" but for that humanity at large cannot be held to be guilty of unnatural conduct. For, it has not been "monstrously cruel and wicked" in all or even in the majority of cases. Some ownership of land has been bad, cruel, anti-social and so forth; but that is true of all ownership as well as of lack of ownership. For, many have been the cases of ownership of houses, boats, rice, wheat, taxis, lorries, clothes, jewellery, knowledge, physical strength, political power and all else that can be owned, where the owners have used their material, intellectual, spiritual or moral possessions for the degradation, exploitation, persecution and harassment of fellow human beings. Religious teachers, faddists, politicians, scientists, generals, industrialists have all caused great sorrow to humanity; often without owning anything. We do not think that people must cultivate whatever land they own. Animals do not cultivate but they "own" their habitat lair, stable, kennel or wherever they stay. If one tried to push the lion out of his "home" or the bear out of its cave or even a bull-terrier out of its kennel, one would soon understand how natural it is for animals to own places, areas and domain. A man may own a large garden with magnificent non-fruit bearing. trees or a large reservoir or pond. He may also graze his cattle, rear his stock, dig for stone, coal or other minerals or just build a sanctuary for birds, wild animals and trees in his own land. The **rishis** and **acharyas** can also build **ashramas** in their land. And there will be no question of cultivation of all such lands; nor can anyone, say that the ownership of all such land was "unnatural", cruel, monstrous and contrary to the nature of men and human beings.

A. C.

A Happy Augury

Britain in unexampled stress obeyed the signal of history and conceded India freedom. It was an act of statesmanship, which refused to line up with what Clive understood, as he instructed the Court of Directors of the East India Company to 'encourage', what he called, 'rivalship between the Gentoos and Mussalmen to obviate the danger of any cabal being formed': the statesmanship, Morley and Minto perfected to a logical finish by their Separate Electorate, gearing mediaeval fanaticism to make the common man act as a fuse for barbarous communal explosions. It involved them some loss no doubt, but it saved them their Indian commerce. Round about 1930, Viscount Rothermere, in collaboration with Sir Michael O' Dyer of the Punjab Martial Law fame and other diehard Tories, pressed home by an intensive propaganda the folly of slackening the grip of British rule in India, let alone her Independence, because it would mean the end of her trade with us. And what that trade means? By this trade, he said, Britain provided for her old-age pension, unemployment relief, education grants and other allied state allowances as part of an automatic routine of existence. Nothing, in fact, has, therefore, been left undone by the Conservative Party to thwart, waylay and circumvent India's struggle for freedom. Sir Winston Churchill could ill-afford to conceal his chagrin even when the passing of the Indian Independence Act was a question of days. As the leader of the party he would not endorse it in the Parliament; Mr. Macmillan did it. It is not known to what extent he was in sympathy with it. But any way, he is one of those to acknowledge the value of dividends it yielded them. In his Indian tour in 1958, he felt overwhelmed with India's goodwill and said that England's trade position with India was better than it was in the British regime.

Mr. MacMillan's recent African tour has its one great significance if it is viewed in the light of this experience. He repudiated the shibboleth of the whiteman's burden and the theory of trusteeship. And what is so eloquently to the point, he told the white settlers of South Africa that England would not subscribe to the ideology of a master race. He spoke with utmost freedom despite his listener's reaction, he must have foreseen. Mr. MacMillan strikes us as the true Briton, whose gift of resilience with boundless capacity for adjustment has so enormously helped the British people to tide over crisis which confronted them from time to time. If what he avers now is followed up with some earnestness, England will add to her moral stature.

J. B.

More Make Believe

Food Control, Guest Control and all such Controls are mainly of a make believe variety. Some call these control hypocritical, sanctimonious and by other names. In fact the Guest Control rules are quite senseless. If 500 persons are fed on "pillao" and "parathas" by their host; those 500 persons forego their 500 meals at home, and no more rice or flour is consumed than would be if they ate at home. Rather less rice or flour will be consumed as there will be other varieties of food at a banquet and people will also eat less out of considerations of good manners. Of course, no one appears to observe these rules and one may say that these orders are made to be violated. That is bad for National discipline.

A. C.

The One Shortage

The trite old saying 'Doctor, heal thyself' is no longer a retort with us. It has by the sheer force of circumstances acquired the ethical value of an adage. We are led to think like this, as we reflect that everybody who is anybody has taken to counselling the students of today on the virtue of obedience, discipline and character, etcetera. What, however, is fundamental and conveniently lost sight of is that those who deserve to be black-listed shout accusation the loudest.

We have passed through a great revolution, which ended by a chapter of untold misery for a vast section of the people inasmuch as the country was cleft into two. Revolution by itself is a disintegrating force. It induces loose ends and violently disturbs the psychological equilibrium of a country—it is a crime when it fails. As a matter of fact, freedom in all spheres of life is seedy and boisterous in its incipient stage. It becomes, therefore, the bounden duty of the protagonists of change to conduct themselves with utmost wariness and restraint. In fact, how the Congress leaders acted and made use of the new opportunities reacted as inevitably upon the country as a whole, the impressionable youth particularly.

As they assumed office, they felt no scruples whatsoever to go back upon the word of honour, they had pledged with the Nation in respect of their austerity programme. Barring some luminous exceptions they thought of making hay while the sun shone and ere the day of reckoning and retribution overtook them. Entrenched in the new set-up, they billeted their own on Government institutions, commercial houses and places they could lay their hands on, let alone the maximum yield Licences and Permits gave them. And as some of them were literally floored in the General Election, they were brought in as meticulous by the trap door of the ruling party's pocket boroughs for the Upper House in negation of the A B C of democracy. All these had a disastrous effect on the morale of young generation. No less shattering in their cumulative effect were the painful disclosures, made by Commissions, how some University authorities abused the trust and responsibility, reposed in them, in financial matters, examination results and, what is still more nauseating, in their behaviour with girl students. It may be said that they were dealt with. No; they should have been so dealt with as to deter others walking in their footsteps and their students to believe that their University is their sanctum and no emporium. In these circumstances, we refrain from spinning out, it is so unfortunate that student delinquency is diagnosed by Mr. Nehru, of all persons, as due to, what we rather consider an inspiring fact, that families which had hitherto no education are now sending their wards in increasing numbers to the University. We all the more regret that Mr. Nehru is being echoed. Such a way of thinking argues a mind, ill-fitted to accept without vital qualifications a socialistic pattern of government. On the point at issue, however, we are perfectly at one with those, who view with alarm the galloping deterioration of the students in their physical, moral and intellectual calibre. Things have gone far, but not yet far enough to be beyond redemption; and they have to be toned up with a sense of purpose in life and a back-to-the-wall resolution to start anew on an even keel. No further denunciation or pulpit lecture please! They are to be commiserated. They share in common with others the myriad shortages, the country is subject to. What, however, has proved fatal to their healthy growth is the appalling shortage in their surroundings of Noble Forms, which, to look on, make noble.

J. B.

The Four Faces of India

The **Hitavada** has given the following extract:

Manhattan, Kansas, Feb. 16.—The outcome of the cold war with Communism is being decided more surely in India today than on the weapon testing sites of Cape Canaveral, according to Mr. James Mccain, President of Kansas State University.

Addressing an allschool assembly of the University, he added 'whether India can solve her problems within the framework of her free institutions is a matter of vital importance to our own nation and the entire free world'.

Mr. Mccain, who recently returned from a four-week tour of India, said India 'presents four faces to the world'.

The first face, he declared, was one of 'indescribable physical beauty and cultural charm,' but this contrasted with another face 'scarred by poverty, hunger and disease.'

One of the free world's pressing problems, he said, was whether India's food problem could be solved before her people rejected their free institutions and sought their salvation in Communism or some other form of absolute Government.

Mr. Mccain said India's third face was that of a major battleground in the cold war, while the fourth was that of a showplace for democracy'.

Nehru and China

Mr. Nehru was replying to the debate on the President's address in the Rajya Sabha. The House adopted the motion of thanks.

Mr. Nehru said: "To say that we will not have anything to do and and will issue ultimatums to them is not wisdom or statesmanship. That kind of thing is not done by responsible and mature countries."

Earlier, Mr. Nehru deprecated the tendency of people to think that a friendly settlement meant appeasement, and said: "I do not consider that it should be thought that there are only two policies open to us —one of ignoble submission and the other of flagrant aggression in word, as if there is no civilised approach to a problem left, only weak surrender or the uncivilised approach of brawling and shouting."

Mr. Nehru said: "We feel, and the President has given expression to it that China has not behaved properly with us. We have been let down in many ways.

You may say our policies were such that we permitted them to do it, though I do not see how any policy we could have pursued could have made any major difference. But the major thing is, we feel we have been let down and injury has been caused to our principles and indeed to our frontiers. And we have to face this situation, facing it with the right policy and right strength, and facing it, as everyone says, with a measure of unity which comes as the result of the right policy. No doubt, so far as strength is concerned, we shall try to build up our strength and utilise it to defend our frontiers."

"When we say that we should always aim at a peaceful settlement, it does not mean appeasement or giving in to anything we consider wrong I do not consider that it should be thought that there are only two policies open—one of ignoble submission and the other of flagrant aggression in words, as if there is no civilised approach to a problem left. Only the weak surrender or the uncivilised resort to brawling and shouting. I hope we shall function in a more civilised manner, adhering to our principles and yet functioning in a civilised way."

Mr. Nehru said that very recently the Government of India had sent a communication to the Chinese Government in reply to their last letter and "in due course we will place it before this House."

"It will be unbecoming of me to talk rashly about the steps that we are going to take and what we are going to do. That is not normally the language of responsible people speaking for a Government. I need not repeat here what the President has said so well in his address. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta did not like one or two phrases in it. What the President says, does not lack any firmness anywhere. It is a firm statement of India's position in this matter, at the same time laying stress on our desire for a friendly settlement. But it does not mean giving up a basic principle or basic interests. Nevertheless it is, and should be the function of every Government to try for a friendly settlement because there is no other alternative, in India, in Germany, France, Asia or elsewhere. Friendly settlement may take a long time or it may be upset by the opposite party and war may begin. That is a different matter.

"The President has said about our deep sorrow about what we consider to be a breach of faith by a country we considered friendly and with whom, we laying down those very principles which are talked so much as Panch Sheel, nevertheless desire to have a friendly settlement.

"But let it be understood quite clearly when I talk of a friendly settlement, I see no ground whatever at the present moment no bridge between the Chinese position and ours. That is, the present positions are such that there is no room for negotiations on that (Chinese) basis and, therefore there is nothing to negotiate about. But to say that we will not have anything to do and we will issue ultimatums to them is not wisdom or statesmanship. That kind of thing is not done by responsible and mature countries."

U. G. C. Recommendations

New Delhi, Feb. 23.—The University Grants Commission in its third report has stated that new colleges, each reasonably well-equipped and well-supported to look after a restricted number of students, will have to be established to meet the increasing demand for university education.

It points out that the number of students, at the 35 Indian universities which has been increasing in the last few years at the rate of over 50,000 per annum will touch the million mark very soon if this rate of increase is maintained.

The report points out that it is necessary to determine the principles on which the admissions are to be made into a university so that unnecessary wastage of national resources may be avoided. The university should not be treated, the Commission states as though it were some kind of "waiting room" in which young men and women collect before entering upon a wage-earning career.

It favours university education being restricted to those who, by any acceptable test, have the necessary aptitude and from amongst whom the nation may draw many as may be needed to fill the various professions.

Secondary education of a diversified nature as well as education of a technical character might be expanded and made easily available for ordinary students.

It is of the opinion that in the foreseeable future, the teaching and affiliating type of university shall have to be depended upon to carry on university education. While a unitary residential type of university may be the ideal, it is more expensive. Further, unitary universities cease to be academically satisfactory or administratively manageable when their student numbers increase appreciably beyond 5,000.

Recently experience has shown, says the Report, that some of the most difficult instances of student indiscipline have occurred in the unitary universities in the country.

The Commission urges that it should be seen to it that the numbers in the existing unitary universities are limited and high standards insisted on in admitting students.

The Commission feels that there should be widest possible consultation and careful examination of all aspects of the problems involved in the establishment of new colleges. The Commission states that several instances have been noticed of unplanned and hasty establishment of universities, largely as a result of improper or irrational pressures. In this connexion, the Commission draws attention to the establishment of a new institution at Khairagarh in Madhya Pradesh called "Indira Kala Visva Vidyalaya."

The Commission notes with satisfaction that some improvement has been brought about in a large majority of universities in the matter of giving higher scales of pay to teachers. Twenty State universities had participated in a scheme for upgrading, on a sharing basis, the salaries of their teachers.

Another national aspect of teachers' salaries, says the Commission, is that the pay scales of teachers compare unfavourably with pay scales in other walks of life. The point at which most men and women enter the university teachers' profession is that of the lecturer. The Commission states that the basic time-scale of pay for university and college lecturers should compare favourably with that offered for Class I posts in the administrative services of the States and the Central Government.

The Commission points that the problem of general behaviour of students continues to be a serious one. It appeals to politicians and to parents to assist the university authorities in maintaining the right atmosphere in the universities.

The Commission states that it still adheres to the view that the changeover from English to an Indian language should be carefully prepared for and should be made only gradually having regard primarily to the effectiveness of teaching and learning. The Commission proposes to have the whole question examined thoroughly by a working group in the near future.

The Commission emphasises that the medium of instruction is an academic and not a political question and that any change that might be considered necessary should be introduced only after reaching full accord on the matter with the universities.

The Commission recommends the establishment of a convention, as in the U.K., by which the Government entrusts to the Commission the whole responsibility of determining the financial needs of universities without interference in matters of policy or in the detailed administration of university affairs. In order that the Commission may be truly responsible for co-ordination of standards of teaching and research in the universities, the Report says it is desirable that grants-in-aid should not be given by any of the Ministries of the Government to any university directly and without consultation with the Commission.

Nehru's Second Thoughts

The **Statesman** reports:

New Delhi, Feb. 24.—But for a firm declaration that the Congress would never form a Government in Kerala with the Muslim League's co-operation, "come what may," Mr. Nehru's monthly Press conference today was largely a repetition of his earlier statements in Parliament.

However, on the two major subjects of discussion—his invitation to Mr. Chou En-lai for talks in Delhi, and the demand for a permanent tribunal to combat corruption in high places—he reiterated his stand with greater emphasis than during the Lok Sabha debate.

He still adhered to his view, the Prime Minister said, that negotiations between India and China would be "fruitless" unless the Indian territory forcibly occupied by the Chinese was evacuated and preliminary steps taken to settle facts.

Yet he had agreed to a meeting with the Chinese Prime Minister because, he added, sometimes "discussions may not be fruitful and yet they may be desirable."

"Do you understand that"?, he inquired and some in his audience, at least said that they did not. A correspondent commented: "If negotiations are fruitless, then what are you going to talk about"?

Mr. Nehru pointed out that there were several difficult problems in Europe about which summit meetings took place, even though nobody expected any results from them.

While declining to anticipate the likely response of the Chinese Premier to his invitation to Delhi, Mr. Nehru told a questioner that he did not object to the meeting being held in Rangoon, although he would not like to go out of India

Last time, he explained, he had refused to go to Rangoon chiefly because that invitation was against the background of a Chinese Note that he could not accept. Any meeting now would take place against the background of the Indian Note, even though the acceptance of this Note was by no means a precondition.

Rejecting the demand for a permanent tribunal to prevent corruption—"I will not be bullied into taking a wrong step," he said—Mr. Nehru argued that such a tribunal would be undemocratic and injurious to the country, because it was bound to foster authoritarianism.

He deplored "the constant, but vague," talk of corruption, and invited public men as well as newspapers to make specific allegations and take the consequences. Meanwhile, he conceded, existing procedure for dealing with corruption could be improved. In special cases, he would consider appointing a special tribunal.

In this connection, Mr. Nehru blamed a Bombay weekly for making baseless allegations against "one of our most able and energetic Generals"—Lt.-Gen. B. M. Kaul.

About Kerala, the Prime Minister said that the triple alliance emerged from the tremendous feeling in the State against the previous Communist Government. Only after the elections did the Congress High Command see the manifesto of the Kerala Muslim League, which had several "objectionable" and communal features, he said. There was no question of co-operation with such a communal attitude, "whatever the risk."

He displayed an equally uncompromising attitude towards recent occurrences in Bhilai. He had no sympathy, he said, for anybody—whether students or workers—who wilfully destroyed public property.

Nor did the Prime Minister once conceal his irritation over questions relating to boundary disputes between States in the country. "It does not matter to me where the boundary of one State ends and that of the other begins, provided that the matter is settled with goodwill," he remarked.

He told another questioner that his views on the nature of the Western economic aid to India did not coincide with those of Mr. Khrushchev. He added, however, that in every country's policy there was an unavoidable element of enlightened self-interest.

P.T.I. adds: A correspond asked, if it was not a fact that the Muslim League manifesto was sent to the A.-I.C.C. before the election arrangement with the League and was discussed by the High Command. Mr. Nehru said the manifesto was shown to him and others in his presence for the first time about 10 days ago. He could not say whether it had been sent to the A.-I.C.C. When it was shown 10 ten days ago, great surprise was displayed by all present. It was more or less a repetition of the old Muslim League's programme. Separate electorates had not been asked for in it, but the suggestion was made that such a thing might be necessary and desirable

A correspondent pointed out that the Muslim League was supporting the Congress-PSP Government and asked how this was possible when there was a big difference in policies. Mr. Nehru said the differences were important, but on a distant plane.

In regard to the choice of a Speaker, Mr. Nehru said that so far as he was concerned it would be eminently desirable for a Muslim League candidate to take that office. A Speaker did not represent any governmental policy. If the candidate was a good man, he should be elected.

Referring to the trouble at Bhilai, Mr. Nehru said it was not the plant workers, but the construction workers who had been causing the disturbance.

A correspondent asked if the Prime Minister was aware that there had been 160 accidents in Bhilai (according to the workers). Mr. Nehru said he had absolutely no knowledge.

Referring to the charges made against Gen. Kaul by a Bombay weekly, Mr. Nehru said the main charge was that Gen. Kaul had been promoted to his present rank out of turn and that he had no experience of active service.

The Prime Minister said Gen. Kaul had put in a good deal of active service not only in Burma in the last war, but in the old N.-W.F.P. and later in Kashmir. "He was our Military Attache in Washington and when trouble in Kashmir began, he wanted to resign from a soft job and be sent to the front. We accepted his resignation and he went to the front."

It had to be realized that there was no "in turn" promotion in the higher ranks of the Army.

About Turn?

New Delhi, Feb. 15.—While repeatedly reiterating that there "is little ground for useful talks" between India and China, Mr. Nehru has invited Mr. Chou En-lai to Delhi "as an honoured guest"—at any time convenient to the Chinese Premier but preferably during the second half of March.

This invitation is contained in a letter by the Prime Minister to Mr. Chou, which was placed before Parliament today along with the Indian Government's reply to the Chinese Note of December 26. Both the Note and the Prime Minister's letter were handed over to the Chinese Government on Friday.

In his letter, the Indian Prime Minister has taken particular objection to the emphasis in the last Chinese Note on "our entire boundary never having been delimited." "That is a statement," he points out, "which appears to us to be wholly incorrect, and we cannot accept it. On that basis there can be no negotiations."

"Although any negotiations on the basis you have suggested are not possible," Mr. Nehru adds, "still I think that it might be helpful for us to meet." Since he himself would be preoccupied with Parliament's Budget session for the next few months, Mr. Nehru suggests that Delhi would be a convenient place for the two Prime Ministers to meet.

Even though he has not made it a precondition for the proposed meeting with the Chinese Prime Minister, in March, Mr. Nehru has reiterated that "certain preliminary steps" suggested by him in a letter to Mr. Chou on November 16, and rejected by China, should at least be accepted now to ease the situation and facilitate discussion.

As is known, Mr. Nehru's letter of three months ago had suggested that to prevent the two Prime Ministers from being lost "in a forest of detail," officials on the two sides should meet earlier to lay the "foundation of our discussions."

Another point made in that letter was that India could not agree, even as an interim measure, to the continuation of China's "forcible occupation of Longju" and other Indian areas.

In his present letter Mr. Nehru dwells on two other points: the futility of "long distance correspondence" reaffirming irreconcilable views; and the tragic implications, not only for India and China but for the world, of the deterioration in the relations between the two countries.

The central theme of the Indian Note to Peking, which runs into 14 printed pages, is a complete and cogent repudiation of the Chinese claim that "the entire boundary between the two countries has never been delimited and is therefore yet to be settled through negotiations."

"It is clearly impracticable," says the latest Indian Note, "for the Government of India to accept this proposition which they consider unreasonable and against the facts of history, geography, custom, tradition and international agreement. The Government of India is anxious for a friendly settlement but it cannot possibly accept suggestions which gravely prejudice its basic position."

The Indian Note also points out that even though no border incidents have taken place recently, the need for an interim understanding to ease "present tensions" and prevent the situation from worsening is still paramount.

A copy of the letter was laid before Parliament today.

To Encourage Tourism

Madurai, Feb. 21.—Mr. Fredric March, American movie actor, his wife, Dr. Chrone, New York physician, who has diagnosed what is known after him as Chrone's Disease, and Dr. Chrone's wife were among the six persons arrested yesterday at Lower Camp about 100 miles from Madurai, for alleged technical breach of the State's prohibition law.

Mr. Fredric March, who left Madras today for Colombo, said in Madras that they had not committed any prohibition offence. A bottle of liquor found in the medicinal bag of the American doctor measured up only to "a few" ounces and was purely intended for medicinal purposes. It was normal practice for physicians to carry some liquor in their medical bags.

Mr. March said that the incident, which he characterized as "most unfortunate" in his one-month stay in India, occurred when the car in which they were travelling was stopped by the police on the ground that it had no permit to ply as a taxi. The tourists, he added, had not known that it was an "illicit taxi" as stated by the police. The car had been arranged by a travel agency of Madurai. The car was searched and following the finding of the bottle of liquor, they were all arrested. The Sub-magistrate of Gudalur, 80 miles from Madurai, later ordered their release after they had signed bail papers.

De Gaulle's Inhibition:

Paris, Feb. 13.—France exploded her first nuclear bomb in the heart of the Sahara Desert today, it was announced in Paris this morning. The bomb was exploded successfully at 6 a.m. G.M.T. (11-30 a.m. I.S.T.).

So France entered the "atomic club," joining the U.S.A., Britain and the Soviet Union with the explosion of her first device from the top of a 100-metre high steel tower in the Sahara.

A communique from General de Gaulle's presidential office said: "The President of the French Republic and the Community makes it known that at 070 on February 13, taking account of very favourable meteorological conditions, the order was given to explode an atomic device in the Sahara desert of the Tanezrouft (the desert of thirst), south-west of Reggan. The explosion took place with the power and safety conditions envisaged."

"The device was placed at the top of a tower. The explosive used was plutonium.

"The safety of the populations of the Sahara and of neighbouring countries was completely assured."

The test site stretches for about 25 miles south-west of Reggan in the western Sahara and all civilian planes have been banned from flying over it since October 15.

M. Debre, the Premier, has said, however, that the Sahara tests are only a first step and that France is "even ahead of her programme."

French officials have often expressed the hope that France's entry into the "atomic club" would lead to a relaxation of the U. S. Macmahon Act barring the disclosure of atomic secrets to America's allies.

Such a move, and France's own proved military potential in the nuclear field, might ease a solution of the N.A.T.O. defence problem posed by France's refusal to allow American atomic weapons on her soil unless she shares in their control.

The French bomb exploded early today is one in which fission reaction on heavy atoms takes place whereas in "H" or thermo-nuclear bombs the energy is obtained by the fusion of light atoms.

President de Gaulle today sent a telegram to M. Pierre Guillaumat, Minister-Delegate in charge of Atomic Affairs, who was present at Reggan, saying: "Hooray for France. Since this morning she is stronger and prouder. From the bottom of my heart, my thanks to you and to those who, for her, have achieved this magnificent success."

The Defence Ministry said later that there was no radioactive fallout from the French bomb over inhabited areas, according to first reports.

According to a Geneva message, Mr. James J. Wadsworth, U.S. delegate to the east-west nuclear test ban conference, said there today he did not think France's atom bomb explosion would affect the current negotiations here.

Mr. Tsarapkin, Soviet delegate to the conference, said the three-Power negotiations would continue despite the explosion. "The French explosion is quite outside the scope of our conference and I know nothing about the possibility of France joining our discussions. Any invitation to France or a request from France to join the three-Power negotiations is something for the Governments concerned to arrange."

Accra, Feb. 13.—Dr. Nkrumah, Ghana's Prime Minister, announced today that assets of all French firms in Ghana would be frozen from today "until such time as the effects on the population of Ghana of the present atomic explosion and future experiments referred to by the French Prime Minister become known."

Cairo, Feb. 13.—A wave of indignation swept across Africa today as news spread regarding the French atomic blast in the Algerian Sahara this morning. African leaders generally described the exploision as an "aggression" against the African people, and broadcasts from a number of African capitals characterized it as a "crime against humanity" and "defiance of U.N. resolutions."

Observers believed the test explosion may lead to a fresh wave of popular demonstrations against the French in Cairo, Accra and other African and West Asian capitals.

Expert Opinioin:

We quote from **The Statesman** the following extract from the speech of the retiring Chairman of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce:

Mr. Brown specifically surveyed the problems of the jute, tea and coal industries and made pointed reference to the managing agency system and the Government policy in regard to it. According to him, the overall picture of the past year was one of expanding horizons, with a rate of increase in industrial production higher than hitherto achieved.

That this was possible, he said, despite the difficult foreign exchange situation which had confronted the country for over two years now, reflected credit on the Government of India and on the monetary authorities. Some praise, he added, was also due to the industry for the manner in which it had managed to adapt itself to conditions, particularly to local shortages of raw materials from time to time.

Regarding the Third Plan, he said he had no doubt that if the lessons of the First and Second Plans were absorbed, if the increasingly pragmatic approach of the authorities in Delhi to many of the difficulties continued to develop and if doctrinaire conceptions were not permitted to interfere with the economic development of the country's resources, it would take a big step forward to the point of take-off towards a self-sustaining economy. In this march of progress, the members of the Chamber and the interests they represented would not be found lagging.

Mr. Brown endorsed Dr. Roy's remark in introducing on Thursday the Budget Estimates for 1960-61. In referring to the shape of the Third Plan, the Chief Minister was stated to have said that, having regard to the difficult food position and the continuing increase in the population, there were powerful and well-nigh unassailable arguments in favour of giving priority to the production of food.

Notwithstanding the essential aim of planning to secure an orderly dispersal of industry throughout the country, it was inevitable, for the reason of the location of the natural resources, that the greatest complex of heavy industry should be centred on this region. With the natural and desirable evolution from the production of iron and steel to the manufacture of machinery, the vital importance of the social and economic stability of Eastern India, was, if anything, further enhanced.

When in addition it was borne in mind that virtually the whole of India's exports of jute goods and a large part of tea exports originated in West Bengal and Assam, the vital place of the region in the country's economy in today's circumstances of foreign exchange shortage was obvious.

Apart from those connected with the port and river there were other problems of communications which continued to demand attention. He mentioned the approach road to Calcutta from Dum Dum. He was interested to learn of the reactions of a prominent visitor connected with a very large American organization who had entered India via Calcutta. His first impression was bad, but he visited the other industrial and commercial centres as well as Delhi and was able to take with him a balanced view of India's investment potential.

Mr. Brown had met the representative of another large international group during a visit to Delhi and in the course of discussions discovered that they had set up their new organization in India around Bombay, after visiting Calcutta. They were now wondering whether they had been right in doing so.

The point was that they formed such a bad first impression of Calcutta that they admitted that it might have affected their judgement in the location of the industry. When one considered the unemployment situation in West Bengal, one wondered how the authorities could permit this state of affairs to continue. He was not suggesting for a moment that Calcutta's and West Bengal's troubles would vanish with the completion of a fine new road between the city and Dum Dum. But he did suggest that it would have a tonic effect in other directions and would before long pay handsome dividends in terms of industrial expansion.

Calcutta was not alone among the great cities in the world today in having a traffic problem, but he had an uncomfortable feeling that, whatever thinking might have been done in regard to methods of dealing with it, not much had been achieved. A particular aspect of the road problem and one which demanded the urgent implementation of plans was the improvement of road communications between Calcutta and the developing industrial areas in other parts of the State and in Bihar.

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A Friend of India

Lady Mountbatten, whose untimely death is mourned by all Indians, was a true friend of the peoples of India. During the days when India was torn by cliques conspiracies and partisanship, she moved about to soothe and to bring peace. Her presence quietened the strong feelings that Indians harboured against the British. She had one quality which enabled her to establish civilised relations where passions surged. It was her general friendly and cultured outlook. She had undone much of the evil that several generations of cunning British politicians generated by their imperialistic actions. She used her power, position and talents to establish peace and friendship between India and Britain. And her success was due to her goodness and sincerity rather than to anything else. Her death has been a great loss to India.

A. C.

THE HINDU SYSTEMS OF THOUGHT

By SWAMI NIKHILANANDA

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Hinduism, which combines both religion and philosophy, has moulded the culture of India for the past five thousand years. It has influenced the lives of countless millions of people and given them strength and vitality, courage and vision, during their long and checkered history. Hinduism is not a congeries of fixed concepts, beliefs, and dogmas, but an organic growth. Faithful to its basic truths, which were discovered in prehistoric times through the spiritual insight of certain highly developed souls who lived on the banks of the Indus and the Ganges, it has whenever necessary assimilated from alien cultures healthy ideas in order to preserve itself from inner decay and stagnation. India has thus made certain eternal and immutable principles the foundation of her cultural edifice but has left its windows open for fresh winds to come from outside; at the same time she has never allowed these winds to sweep the edifice off its foundation. India reveals a continuity in her cultural patterns almost without parallel in history.

Besides the spiritual insight contributed by ancient philosophers, mystics, and saints, two other influences—nature and geography—have helped India formulate and preserve her culture. India was isolated from the outside world by lofty mountains in the north and by great oceans in the three other directions. Her vast spaces were crisscrossed by swift-flowing rivers. She had a fertile soil and a mild climate, and nature was bounteous. All these factors gave people's minds a natural bent toward the infinite and the eternal and inclined them to contemplation. Society was not competitive, and men's bodies and minds were relaxed. Philosophical thought found easy expression through poems and songs. Though philosophy and religion absorbed people's interests, India did not lag behind other countries in the knowledge of the physical world. Scientific minds in India measured the land, mapped the heavens, traced the courses of the stars and planets, analysed matter, developed the decimal system and algebra, codified grammar and speculated about logic, contributed to the sciences of medicine and surgery, knew the use of steel and glass, and fairly kept the country abreast of the rest of the world till the beginning of the scientific era in modern Europe. The sciences in India were largely developed through observation and speculation; they were not, for the most part, based on the experimental method. Some of their achievements, nevertheless, have drawn praise from contemporary thinkers. It appears as if a strong wind of creative impulse arose from somewhere in the country itself, stirred the minds of the people, and then all but died down, ushering in a dark age. But that the life-force of the nation was not spent is now being demonstrated in the Indian people's struggle to build up their country after having attained political freedom. One need not cut open the bark of a living tree to see if the sap is running.

Whatever India achieved in the fields of art, literature, architecture, sociology, politics, or ethics was powerfully influenced by the Hindu religion and philosophy. As the subject of this paper is a vast one, I plan to give first a general outline of the Hindu systems of thought and follow it up with a discussion of social values in Hinduism. There prevails in the West a persistent belief that Hinduism, being otherworldly, is lacking in realism. If the world and individual souls are unreal, as it is alleged, then why bother about them? This attitude, it is contended, is responsible for India's poverty, illiteracy, and material backwardness.

Hinduism, also known as the Hindu dharma, is more of a way of life than a religion based upon revelations from God through a Prophet or Incarnation, which is the usual connotation of the word **religion.** The Hindu dharma is designed to guide the embodied spirit in its different stages of evolution, from its first individualization through identification with matter to its final liberation through spiritual illumination. In the Hindu tradition both philosophy and religion cross each other's path. Philosophy, in the main, is the approach to reality through the intellect. It points out the distinction between what is real and what is unreal, and usually exercises a veto power over the unreal. Religion is mainly the approach through the heart, and urges the soul in its onward progress. Final liberation comes through the grace of God.

Hinduism has no historical founder. It is based upon truths which are eternal, without beginning, and not attributable to human intellect. As I have already mentioned, they were discovered for the Indian world through the introspection of rishis, or seers, who practised the spiritual disciplines of discrimination, non-attachment, control of the body and senses, and one-pointedness of mind. Among the rishis are found both men and women. Divine Incarnations like Krishna and Rama, who appeared later in Indian history, demonstrated the validity of these eternal truths. But even without them Hinduism would not lose its authenticity.

The eternal truths of Hinduism are recorded in the Vedas, the Hindu scriptures, which are the final authority of the Hindus pertaining to their religion and philosophy. But the Vedas themselves point out that they are merely indicators of a path. In the radiance of ultimate reality the scriptures fade away.

There are two main divisions of the Vedas: the one deals with hymns to the deities and rituals for their propitiation, and the other with such philosophical topics as the Godhead, creation, moral disciplines, and the nature of the soul, the hereafter, and the soul's ultimate destiny. The ritualistic part of the Vedas forms the basis of the Hindu religion, and the philosophical part, also known as the Upanishads or Vedanta, forms the basis of the six classical systems of orthodox Hindu philosophy.

What do the Vedas teach? They deal with both physical happiness and the highest good. The desire for happiness is universal and is fulfilled through the enjoyment of such material objects as food, drink, wealth, children, grandchildren, cattle, and land. The happiness which righteous souls experience in various heavens is also material in nature, as these heavens too are a part of the phenomenal universe. Physical happiness can be meaningfully enjoyed if the enjoyer propitiates the deities, observes the laws of morality, and shows his fellowship with other human beings and subhuman creatures. The Vedic gods who were propitiated through sacrifices were the physical mediums for the manifestation of the supreme spirit. They were the controllers of men's earthly lives. Some of the more prominent Vedic deities are Prajapati (the Creator), Agni (Fire), Varuna (Water), Vayu (Wind), Dau (Sky), and Ritam (Moral Law). The Vedic gods and sacrifices have now been replaced by popular gods—some of whom are God-men and saints—and temple worship. The deities are generally worshipped, like the saints in the Roman Catholic Chuch, for the fulfilment of worldly desires. But they may also be propitiated for the deepening of the true spiritual life. The Vedas speak of the interdependence of gods, men, animals, and nature, which together form the seamless garment of the phenomenal universe.

But happiness on earth or in heaven is impermanent, because it is associated with material objects and also because it is controlled by the laws of time, space, and causation. The gods, too, die and return to earth. Even the fullest measure of human happiness cannot escape the inevitable suffering due to birth, disease, old age, and death. The soul's longing for freedom (moksha) and the highest good (nihsreyasha) cannot be stifled in spite of repeated disillusionments in heaven or on earth, because in its essential nature the soul is free and perfect. After going through the entire gamut of enjoyment (pravritti) through many a birth, it at last follows the path of return or renunciation (nivritti). The disciplines for the attainment of freedom are described in the Upanishads.

Besides the Vedas, the primary scriptures, Hinduism recognizes certain secondary scriptures, which are known as the Puranas and the Smritis. The Puranas give popular interpretations of the philosophy of the Upanishads through stories of the gods and of legendary men. They include the two great Hindu epics, the **Ramayana** and the **Mahabharata.** The former, India's earliest epic poem, centers round the life and adventures of Rama, now worshipped as a divine Incarnation, and describes the penetration of the Aryan culture to the south and the gradual assimilation of the non-Aryans by the Aryans. It extols the Indian ideals of filial piety, the chastity of women, the value of friendship and loyalty, kingly duties, and the courtesy to which inferiors are entitled from their superiors. The **Mahabharata** is a "miscellany of history and mythology, politics and law, philosophy and theology." The Bhagavad Gita, which is a part of this great work, is designated as a moksha-sastra, a scripture showing the way to liberation. It deals with the different systems of yoga, or spiritual discipline, but emphasizes selfless love of God and non-attached action as suitable to the average seeker of the highest good. The Smritis prescribe the code of conduct and social ethics. Their injunctions change from time to time to suit the needs of the age. In contrast to the Vedas, the Puranas and the Smritis are ascribed to human authorship.

The Gayatri mantra, which is recorded in the Vedas, sums up the philosophy and religion of the Hindus. According to it, the reality is all-pervading, uncreated, self-luminous, omniscient, and almighty spirit. Religion enjoins upon us meditation on this spirit and the prayer that it may awaken our intellect and guide us along the path of virtue and righteousness. Hindu philosophy is non-dualistic, and the Hindu religion monotheistic.

Ultimate reality is called Brahman. It is the unattached cause of the creation, preservation, and dissolution of the universe. Its existence is known from the evidence of the enlightened seers. In Brahman all the conflicts and contradictions of the phenomenal universe are resolved. Since the universe is perceived to exist, its cause must be an existing entity. Existence cannot be produced from non-existence. The cause of the universe cannot be inert matter, because we find a plan and purpose in the creation. Therefore the cause is intelligent. Illumined souls, who have renounced all worldly attachments, experience bliss from communion with Brahman, which therefore must be bliss. Furthermore, Brahman, which permeates the universe, is the cause of the attraction between different objects. Brahman is designated as existence-knowledge-bliss absoluate (Satchidananda).

Brahman is described in the Vedas as both devoid of attributes and endowed with attributes. The attributeless Brahman, free from indicating marks or qualifying characteristics, is pure, undifferentiated spirit. It is an experience, and is often described by mystics as silence. Brahman is unknown and unknowable to the finite mind.

The same pure spirit, while creating, preserving, and destroying the universe, appears as Brahman with attributes—without, however, losing its essential nature. Brahman with attributes is the Personal God, worshipped as the Lord, the Saviour, and Providence. He is the Father in Heaven of the Christians, the Allah of the Mussalmans, and the Siva or Vishnu of the Hindus.

Another manifestation of Brahman is the Avatar or divine Incarnation. By His inscrutable power God assumes a human body whenever virtue declines in the world and wickedness prevails. According to Hinduism the divine Incarnation cannot be limited by time or place.

Creation is the manifestation of the names and forms lying in an unmanifested state in God's power, also called maya or prakriti. Without any compulsion or motive, He manifests them at the beginning of a cycle, and He withdraws them at the end of the cycle. Creation and dissolution are described as the breathing-out and breathing-in of the spirit. Under the spell of maya the diversity in the creation is taken to be real; so also the pairs of opposites, such as good and evil, pain and pleasure, and birth and death. All diversity disappears when one realizes the non-dual spirit. In Brahman, which is pure intelligence, neither good nor evil, nor the other pairs of opposites, are present.

Hinduism admits the multiplicity of souls in the world of phenomena, though it declares that in its essential nature the soul is pure spirit, one and without a second, eternal, pure, immortal, and without beginning or end. Multiplicity or embodiment is the result of maya. The embodied soul, on account of its attachment to the body, becomes a victim of birth and death, good and evil, hunger and thirst, pain and pleasure. It is entangled in the world and seeks deliverance. Even while the embodied soul passes through the various experiences of the phenomenal life, its real nature remains unaffected. The embodied soul, also known as the apparent soul, is endowed with sense-organs, mind, intellect, and ego. It experiences the states of waking, dreaming, and deep sleep. Its suffering is due to desire and attachment. When free from desires, the embodied soul —in this very body or after death—becomes immortal or free. The free soul devotes himself to the welfare of the world.

For the attainment of perfection, Hinduism teaches spiritual disciplines called yoga. In general there are four kinds of yoga, suited to different temperaments. The active man practises the discipline of selfless action, or work for work's sake, expecting no return for himself. The philosophical man constantly discriminates between the real and the unreal, and renounces the unreal. The emotional man practises love of God without expectation of reward or fear of punishment: this love is for love's sake. The introspective man seeks to suppress the restlessness of his mind through control of the body and the senses. He practises concentration and ultimately realizes the soul's isolation from the body.

Ethical disciplines are the foundation of the spiritual life. One aspect of Hindu ethics emphasizes social service, and another aspect inner purification. Hindu ethics will presently be discussed.

Hindu seers constantly remind us that religion is not mere belief in certain dogmas or creeds: it is an experience. To know God is to become God or to cultivate god-like qualities. The goal of religion is the manifestation of the divinity lying hidden in all embodied creatures. Experience alone "destroys all doubts and severs the knots of the heart." As the soul is essentially one with God, every soul will attain perfection in course of time. As one cannot rid oneself of all limitations in one lifetime, Hinduism postulates the rebirth of the soul in many bodies.

The cardinal principles of the Hindu systems of thought may be summarized in four phrases, namely, the oneness of existence, the divinity of the soul, the non-duality of the Godhead, and the harmony of religions. Hinduism is thus endowed with several dimensions. Its extent includes the conception of Brahman or the universal spirit—transcending names, forms, and attributes—which is the foundation of the moral and spiritual laws that guide the universe and under whose control the stars and the planets move along their orbits. Hinduism's tremendous depth lies in its conception of the soul, "subtler than the subtle and greater than the great," guiding the activities of the body, sense-organs, and mind. Its breadth appears in its catholic attitude toward all systems of religious and philosophical thought and in its respect for those who differ from it. One may discover yet a fourth dimension in Hinduism in its realization of the all-embracing unity of animate and inanimate existence: of God, souls, and nature.

In the second part of my paper I shall briefly discuss Hindu ethics, which lays down disciplines for both self-improvement and social welfare. The disciplines for self-improvement may be called personal or subjective ethics, and the others social or objective ethics. The aim of personal ethics is to eliminate such mental impurities as "lust, anger, and greed," which the Bhagavad Gita calls the "gateways to hell," for the ultimate attainment of the highest good. It includes such disciplines as austerity, control of the body and mind, renunciation, non-attachment, and concentration. Patanjali, the author of the **Yoga Aphorisms**, adds to the list the virtues of non-injury, truthfulness, abstention from theft, and chastity. These disciplines are common to all the major religions of the world.

Austerity enables a man to curb his impulses for inordinate enjoyment of physical comforts, and also to acquire supernatural powers which exalt him far above the worlds of men and the gods. In the Upanishads, austerity (tapas) often denotes intense thinking, the same sort of thinking that precedes creative work, making a man indifferent about his personal comforts or discomforts. Self-control means control of the sense-organs, which are ordinarily inclined toward material objects and employed to seek only the pleasant. It creates that inner calmness without which profound spiritual truths cannot be grasped. The two most important factors in the practice of self-control are discrimination and will-power; it does not involve any weakening of the body or the organs. The spiritual seeker should possess a healthy body and vigorous organs, unerring discrimination, and a strong mind. His discrimination should guide his senses to choose only those objects which are helpful to the realization of his spiritual ideal.

Renunciation of the unreal and the impermanent leads directly to the experience of the real and the everlasting. Monks try to practise this virtue to the limit, and take a vow to give up the enjoyment of physical objects both here and hereafter.

Non-injury and truthfulness are sovereign virtues emphasized by all religious Hindus, from the Vedic seers to Mahatma Gandhi. The practice of non-injury also includes gentleness and abstention from harsh words. Truthfulness means the ascertainment of facts by such valid proofs as direct perception, correct inference, and reliable testimony. In addition, truthfulness demands that facts be described without any intentional deceit or unnecessary verbiage. Half-truths and evasions are regarded as lies. Truthfulness must not unnecessarily hurt the feelings of others; otherwise it will not be effective. In such a case the wise remain silent. A Hindu injunction says: "Speak the truth; speak the pleasant, but not an unpleasant truth."

Abstention from theft requires not only that one should not appropriate another's property unlawfully, but also that one should abstain from greediness. What it really amounts to is indifference to the material advantages of life. The accumulation of physical goods beyond a certain limit is generally tainted by cruelty, greed, or similar blemishes. One cannot hoard great wealth without some sort of deceit or injury to others.

The practice of chastity includes abstention from lewdness in thought, speech, and action. Both the mind and the heart must be kept unsullied by a spiritual seeker, the body being the temple of God and the heart its inner shrine.

Social values are given an important place in the Hindu system of thought. Their fulfilment is a discipline for the enjoyment of happiness here and hereafter, which the Vedas recognize as a universal craving. The world must be regarded as real as long as one is a part of it. The knowledge of the universe and the knowledge of Brahman are the warp and woof which have built up Hindu philosophy. It is said in the Vedas that a person must cultivate both forms of knowledge. He who cultivates only the knowledge of the universe enters into darkness; but he who cultivates only the knowledge of the spirit enters into a greater darkness. The former creates a materially prosperous society but leaves the individual a victim of anxiety, tension, and suffering. The latter enables the individual to reach a lofty height of enlightenment, but society registers a low ebb of general backwardness. One should cultivate, the Vedas add, the knowledge of both science and superscience; by means of science one overcomes physical limitations, and by means of superscience one attains to immortality.

Prayers have been composed by the Vedic seers addressed to the cosmic order, ethical laws, and moral virtues. There are striking hymns about marriage, procreation, a woman's conduct in her husband's house, hospitality, harmony in a council, health, vigor, longevity, the duties of a householder, battles and the proper attitude toward enemies, and about general prosperity. The following are instances chosen at random:

About marriage: "Be not parted; dwell here; reach the full term of human life. With sons and grand-sons, sport and play, rejoice in your abode."

About procreation: "This woman has come like a fertile cornfield. There sow, O man, the seed of your future harvest. She from her teeming side shall bear you children and feed them from the fountain of her bosom."

About a woman's conduct in her husband's house: "Over your husband's father and your husband's mother bear full sway. Over the sister of your husband, over his brother, rule supreme."

About hospitality: "Now that man who eats before his guests, eats up the sacrifice and the merit of the house. He devours the milk and the sap and the vigor and the prosperity and the progeny and the cattle, and the fame and reputation, and the glory and understanding, of the house."

About longevity: "May we see a hundred years. May we live a hundred years. May we know a hundred years. May we prosper a hundred years. May we assert our existence a hundred years, yea, even more than a hundred years."

About general prosperity: "O Lord, may there be born in the kingdom brahmins distinguished for the knowledge of Brahman; heroic kshatriyas, skilled marksmen, piercing with their shafts mighty warriors; cows giving abundant milk, good at carrying heavy loads; swift horses and industrious women: may our fruit trees ripen; may we secure and preserve prosperity."

Thus it is evident that the Indo-Aryans of Vedic times lived a full and happy life and did not repudiate the world. But it was not a purely materialistic happiness that they sought; for them worldly enjoyment was means to a higher end.

The Upanishads, which form the essence of the Vedas, aim to establish the sole reality of Brahman. They also emphasize the fact that the world of multiplicity is real for the vast majority of people, who are under the spell of maya. Such people should recognize social values and practise ethical laws.

The "Brihadarnyaka Upanishad" exhorts the rich and the powerful to cultivate the virtue of self-control, the average greedy man the virtue of charity, and the demoniacal person the virtue of compassion. The **Katha Upanishad** teaches that a seeker of self-knowledge must fulfil his duties to the gods and society before he aspires to knowledge. From the following statement of an enlightened king, one realizes the high standard of society in Upanishadic times: "In my kingdom there is no thief, no miser, no wine-bibber, no man without a sacrificial fire, no ignorant person, no adulterer, much less adulteress." The importance of moral conduct can be clearly recognized from the advice of a teacher to his students who have finished their education and are about to embrace the householder's life: "Speak the truth. Practise righteousness. Do not neglect the study of the Vedas....Enter the householder's life and see that the line of progeny is not cut off. Do not swerve from the truth. Do not swerve from righteousness. Do not neglect personal welfare (refers to health and longevity). . . . . Do not neglect your duties to the gods and the manes. Treat your mother as God. Treat your father as God. Treat your teacher as God. . . . A typical prayer for wealth and prosperity is the following: "Bring me, without delay fortune which will always provide me with clothes and cattle, food and drink. . . . May I become famous among men. May I become richer than the rich." It may be noted that all the teachers of the major Upanishads were householders.

We have already stated that the secondary scriptures of the Hindus teach how to apply the philosophy of the Upanishads, to the needs of the people which arise from time to time with the change of social conditions they speak of the householders as the basis and principal support of society. The three values most prized are righteousness, economic security, and sense pleasure. Both wealth and sense pleasure should be earned and enjoyed according to righteousness; otherwise they degenerate into greed and voluptuousness. The fulfilment of these three values leads to the realization of the highest value, namely, moksha or spiritual freedom. The caste system is based upon the admitted physical, intellectual, and spiritual inequalities of men at birth. In some is found a preponderance of spirituality and intellect, in some physical valor and heroism, in some the instinct to earn and accumulate wealth, and in some the virtue of rendering service to others. Each of the four castes has "its own hygiene, its own domain of labor, its own sentiment of perfection, and its own spiritual superiority." "It is a law of spiritual economics," said Mahatma Gandhi; "it has nothing to do with superiority and inferiority." The member of any caste is permitted to practise the spiritual disciplines which enable one to realize God, which realization alone decides a person's ultimate worth. According to the Hindu doctrine of rebirth, a member of a low caste, through the fulfilment of his social and religious duties, can be born in a higher caste and enjoy its amenities and privileges. As long as its original meaning was followed, the caste system promoted harmony and co-operation among the divergent members of society, eliminated friction and competition, and saved the weak from exploitation by the strong. It has helped Hindu society to absorb alien peoples according to their merits and aptitudes. Through it Hinduism recognized renunciation, self-control, service, and sacrifice as cardinal virtues. At the present time, however, the true spirit of the caste system has been practically forgotten; the people are clinging merely to its outer forms.

During the dark ages of Indian history, lasting for about a thousand years, when India was ruled by foreigners, loyalty to dharma or social duties preserved Hindu society from total disintegration. The saints and religious leaders of that period were real lovers of men and dedicated themselves to improving the condition of the masses, especially of the untouchables.

During the British rule of one hundred and ninety years, India remained culturally sterile. But the introduction of English education brought educated Indians in contact with the national, aggressive, and dynamic West. Through the notable efforts of Western orientalists, British historians, and archaeologists, the Hindus again learnt the value of their own past cultural achievements, though many of those who received an English education became thoroughly Westernized in outlook. Christian missionaries also aroused the dormant social and religious consciousness of the Indians. Thus there took place a cultural revival with significant political and social implications.

There are three prominent religious movements in modern India which have emphasized social service. The Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj, which represent the national reaction against the social abuses of the past thousand years, have been advocating the abolition of the caste system, the remarriage of Hindu widows, the removal of early marriage, the emancipation of women, the spread of education, and other social reforms.

Unlike the founders of the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj, who were essentially social reformers. Ramakrishna, the inspirer of the Ramakrishna Mission, was man of God. In him the spiritual aspirations and experiences of the countless millions of Hindus of the past five thousand years found their fulfilment and expression. He realized the mysteries of the Godhead in both its personal and impersonal aspects and practised the desciplines of not only Hinduism, but Christianity and Islam, and proclaimed that all religions ultimately lead to the experience of the same Godhead. He did not, however, allow himself to luxuriate in the bliss of solitude and meditation, but dedicated his body, mind and soul to the service of humanity. Ramakrishna's foremost disciple, Swami Vivekandana, proclaimed renunciation and service to be the national ideals of India and taught that service to men is the best worship of God. "You may," he said, "invent an image through which to worship God, but a living image already exists—the living man. You may build a temple to worship God, and that may be good, but a better one, a much higher one, already exists—the human body." On another occasion he said: "Him I call a noble soul whose heart bleeds for the poor; otherwise he is a wicked soul." The monks of the Ramakrishna Mission, founded by Vivekananda, take the twin vows of self-realization and service to humanity. To them work is a form of worship. Their lives alternate between meditation and social service. The major social activities of the Ramakrishna Mission consist in bringing education to the illiterate, food to the hungry, and medical relief to the sick.

Contrary to the belief of most Westerners, the enlightened saints of India have ministered to the physical, intellectual, and spiritual needs of the people. Whether active or inactive, they constantly pray for the welfare of all: "May the world be peaceful. May the wicked become gentle. May all creatures think of their mutual welfare. May their minds be engaged in what is auspicious. May our hearts be immersed in selfless love of the Lord." "May all be happy. May all be free from disease. May all realize what is good. May none be subject to misery."

I have tried to show in the brief space of this paper that the Hindu systems of thought combine both realism and spirituality and that there is no conflict between the spirit of religion and the ordinary values of life. Hinduism is by no means otherworldly and antisocial in the usual sense of these words. Indian thinkers have come to grips with reality, whose meaning, however, changes at different states in the development of the soul. They have reflected and bravely faced man's real problems, from his first wandering into the realm of phenomena to his final liberation, and exhorted him first to idealize the real and then to realize the ideal.

D. P. I. IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION

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Scarcely is a public examination held anywhere in India today without yield of a bountiful crop of howlers. From time to time they have been gleaned and embodied in some enterprising examiner's reports but usually they lie buried in the examinees' answer papers and are soon cast into the limbo of oblivion. It is on rare occasions that the public has a glimpse of them when they get into headlines in the columns of a newspaper where they are publicised more perhaps to regale than to enlighten or instruct its readers.

However distressful on closer reflection, one cannot but feel terribly amused when one finds 'Eisenhower, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Marshall Tito' named as 'important steel producing countries,' 'wheat and rice' cited as examples of 'metals of every day use', 'Einstein' supposed as 'the cause of malaria' and 'hormone' as the 'inventor of the musical instrument hormonium' and so on **ad nauseum.** Parenthetically, but interestingly enough, no mention whatsoever is made of such ludicrous absurdities in any of the numerous examiners' reports of 1840's which recently I had the occasion to rummage. A bad guess such as ascribing a passage from Il Penseroso to Johnson was sufficient for the examinee to be held up to ridicule and scorn while the examiner emptied forth his vial of wrath upon one who being unable to give an example from Milton of such a simile as was contained in the passage set for the test had the temerity to answer 'I humbly beg to observe that I little thought that we are expected to have almost every line of Milton by heart'. One wonders how the examiners of those days would have reacted if they were told of our common experience about the authorship of Paradise Lost being attributed by the present generation of students to anyone from Shakespeare to Tagore.

I am afraid I have digressed a lot and must come straight to the point I have in view.. In a recent public examination in Calcutta intended chiefly for the Matriculates but in which a sizable number of I.A's and I.Sc's and even graduates had appeared from all parts of India, a candidate designated a very well-known Cabinet Minister of India, who by the way does not belong to the State named, as the Animal Minister of Bihar; Morarji Desai was variedly described as 'Prime Minister of Russia or of Kathmandu', 'the old King', 'a spiritual or Harijan leader'; 'an adventurer of India' and Harold Macmillan was anybody's guess, not only Prime Minister or some such dignitary of every conceivable or inconceivable land under the sun but 'the greatest English poet', 'inventor of electric light', 'a line in Chapra District', a place 'situated in Delhi where Muslim is doing worship'. While there was no end of such outrageous nonsense among the answers, there was however one tiny little question which unsurprisingly nearly all had chosen and most had correctly answered. That was just to amplify the expression D.P.I. which a candidate had the option to pick out of a host of similar other commonly used abbreviations. Indeed no officer's name is so familiar in educational circles as Director of Public Instruction's. The new-fangled D.E., that is, Director of Education seems more fashionable now-a-days and is perhaps more apposite. But D.P.I. still holds the ground firmly. Even if the appellation is discarded eventually in official terminology, it will nevertheless stick for years in public memory and common parlance.

The office owes its origin to the recommendation of the famous Education Despatch of 1854, commonly known as Wood's Education Despatch, which for the first time laid down a definite educational policy and emphatically affirmed the responsibility of the Administration for extension and promotion of education in British India. To this end there was proposed the creation of an Education Department as a part of the machinery of Government with a person of "high character and fitting judgment as its head." Steps were promptly taken on the publication of the Despatch to create Education Departments everywhere, except in the Centrally Administered areas. But the process covered a period of about 12 years from 1854-55 in the larger Provinces where the new system was fairly at work before the end of 1856—to 1866-67 in the smaller territorial divisions.

The functionary at the head of the Education Department was generally, though not invariably, designated, as Director of Public Instruction. In the Central Provinces, for instance, he was initially called Inspector-General of Education, and in Assam he had for long the nomenclature of a lower post, Inspector of Schools. The educational heads, however, even those having the same or similar designation, differed in status, pay, and powers assigned to them, and to a certain extent also, in the nature of duties they had to do. It was in Bengal, Bombay and Madras that the office was endowed with the highest salary and authority, and the position was hardly modified by lapse of time or its vicissitudes.

D.P.I. was to be immediately responsible to the Government for the conduct of education in the area under his control. He had direct access to the Head of the State and the facility of frequent consultations and conferences with him. His functions in the ordinary business of administration were defined as preparing the educational estimates, controlling the distribution of grant-in-aid allotments, making or recommending appointments and transfers of officers within the department, and generally taking such steps as might be needed for improvement and expansion of education. In these matters he acted as the agent of the Government whose approval he was required to take in affairs of special importance and on questions involving undecided points of educational policy. He was the "constituted adviser of Government" in all educational matters including policies to be adopted and pursued. He was in intimate contact with the University and had a notable share in its guidance and administration, firstly, due to his presence ex-officio on its highest councils, but more importantly because he acted from behind the scene briefing and counselling Government in the exercise of its various powers over the University.

As circumstances then stood, it was fore-seen that the earliest educational chiefs would be members of civil service. For, among them would be found "the persons best qualified for the performance of the duty". The first Directors of Public Instruction were in fact mostly selected from covenanted civil servants. Nevertheless the Despatch clearly stated that the posts were not necessarily to be so filled without due regard to the claims of others, Europeans or Indians, who might be better fitted for them. It proved a mere pious wish. As a matter of deliberate policy, the Court of Directors encouraged the appointment of civil servants as educational heads. They desired the closest control over education so as to direct it according to their own views. It was certainly easier to do so "if the business were in the hands of covenanted civil servants than otherwise". In pursuance of this principle, civil, sometimes even military, officers were not infrequently drafted to man lower educational posts.

Against the fore-going practice, a revulsion of feeling soon set in. This was strongly voiced by Sir George Clarke in an official memorandum written in 1858. He accused the civil officers "in a transition state" as "eager for immdiate distinction" in their temporary sphere while "looking for departments quite unconnected with education" and characterised their measures as "crudities and frivolities." He advocated recruitment of all educational officers, high and low, from qualified men in "scholastic institutions" from whom might be expected "honest zeal, patient labour, and indifference to personal distinction."

Partly owing to this change of view, but more especially on account of the reluctance of the civil servants themselves to hold educational posts, appointment of civil servants in education departments went altogether out of vogue. But there was no attempt to fill the void by suitable personnel. On the contrary the terms and conditions of educational service were so reduced as were not likely to attract men of requisite calibre. "Educational service sprang up fortuitously, educational appointments were given neglectfully to political retainers or filled up at haphazard like other uncovenanted appointments."

Notwithstanding steady deterioration of educational service, there still remained at the helm of education, at any rate in the more important provinces, persons of outstanding ability and distinction. In 1867, for example, while Bombay Educational Service was "a very poor, precarious, and in fact, miserable sphere into which one can hardly dare to advise a young man of ability and cultivation to enter," it is significant to note that the D.P.I. who thus bewailed his lot was a person of the eminence of Sir Alexander Grant.

It was not long before the situation came under fresh review and was remedied. During the period 1870-82 there was established an equitable system of graded educational service all over British India with invidious inequalities of pay-scales between one province and another largely removed. The D.P.I.'s post was reserved **ceteris paribus** for members of this new service. The D.P.I. in each province, as also the high ranking educational officers, were for the most part appointed in England by the Secretary of State.

When the Hunter Commission was appointed in 1882 to survey educational progress, it was confronted with a body of opinion which questioned the fitness of the existing machinery for delivering the goods. The latter vigorously put forward a proposal which, though varying in detail, agreed in broad substance regarding the desirability of abolishing the D.P.I.'s post. Emanating from wide and diverse sources, both official and non-official, it also lacked unanimity as to whether the Director was to be replaced by a Board of Education or some other agency vested with his authority, or instead his powers and functions should be transferred to, and appropriately divided between, the University, the District Boards, and other local bodies. As an alternative to this drastic suggestion, it was urged that at least a representative Consulting Board be associated with the Director to advise and assist him. The first proposition, far from finding any support, was not even deemed worthy of consideration, in the Commission. In fact, the Commission's recommendations were "based on the explicit assumption that the office and the independent position of the Provincial Directors will be maintained." As to the substitute proposal, the Commission after a careful appraisal of its pros and cons turned it down. It was regarded "essential to efficient administration that the responsibility of the Head of the Department to the Government should be absolute."

In 1896 in accordance with the recommendations of the Public Service Commission of 1886, Educational Service was radically reorganised and brought into line with the system on which Judicial, Executive and other Public Services were based. The Indian Educational Service wholly recruited in England was its outcome. Originally it was conceived and formed as only one branch of Superior Education Service collateral and equal in status to its other half, the Provincial Education Service recruited by Local Government on lower pay-scales in India. Quite inevitably it assumed before long the character of the higher service to all intents and purposes till at last the position was given formal recognition in 1915 on the recommendation of the Islington Commission. Appointment of Indians to I.E.S., though not barred. was negligible until the service was thrown open to Indian recruitment on the recommendation of the above-named Commission and the policy was adopted from after 1917 of "increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration." Indians and Europeans became henceforward segregated in service which however was not true of the former graded service where Europeans and Indians were classed together.

The highest educational post, that is D.P.I.'s, was however kept outside the I.E.S.

cadre. The then Secretary of State, Viscount Cross, decided that the post was "one of very great importance" and the selection of its holder "should not be fettered by any rule or instruction to give a preferential claim to any officer of any particular department." The incumbency of Sir Alexander Pedler, Kt. F.R.S., as Bengal's Director from 1899 to 1906 was a case in point. The Quinquennial Review of Education, 1897-98 to 1901-2, however shows that "the D.P.I.s are at present all members of the Education Service."

Although directly subordinate to Government, the Director had to transact business with the latter through a branch of its Secretariat except in the Punjab where from the outset he had the rank of an Under-Secretary and in fact discharged the functions of a Secretary. There were two main reasons which led to the adoption of this procedure. The first was the "concentration in many provinces of all executive power in the Lieutenant Governor" who consequently needed the assistance of Secretaries to give him relief. The second was "the assumption that the D.P.I. would require reinforcement on the administrative and political side."

With the delegation of powers to Members of the Executive Council, the first reason ceased to exist, and the argument for political reinforcement lost its edge. Subsequent replacement of Members by popular Ministers wiped off the last vestige of the political ground. As far as the administrative convenience of the arrangement was concerned, it may in the first place be noted that practically all files went to the Finance Department at one stage or another for thorough scrutiny of every proposal so that the need for examination in the Secretariat's education branch was thereby diminished, if not altogether dispensed with; and, secondly, assuming such a need, the purpose was seldom, if ever, fulfilled. For, usually a member of the civil service which "have known little and cared less about education," the Secretary was besides a bird of passage. As Sir Charles de la Fosse pointed out in course of his evidence before the Islington Commission that as D.P.I. of the United Provinces for seven years he had to work with six Secretaries in succession. Later on the Hartog Committee (1928-29) found more or less the same state of affairs, there being over a period of eight preceding years, as many as nine Education Secretaries in Madras, seven in Bombay, Bengal and Bihar, five in Assam, and four in the United Provinces. Again it was a travesty that education was not the Education Secretary's only or chief concern; a host of other subjects competed for his attention. It was truly though sarcastically observed by Mayhew that "The experienced Secretary after spending his morning energy on financial and judicial files, drafts with the sinking sun his educational resolution" indulging in nothing but saw-dustish platitudes. His tired brain was often inclined to put quietly on the shelf a difficult or inconvenient file, there to gather dust for Heaven only knew how long.

The consequence was that the Secretary served mostly as a mere channel of communication. The Director throughout occupied the centre of the educational stage. When, for example, Lord Curzon took in hand the problem of educational reform, he convened in 1901 a conference, the first of its kind, not however of Education Secretaries (as seems fashionable now-a-days) but of Directors and sought their advice and assistance. He provided for such periodical meetings of D.P.I.s as being of "great value" by his subsequent educational policy resolution of 1904. Again, when the Central Advisory Board of Education was first set up in 1920 to give the Governor-General "advice on questions of educational policy and practice" and to "assist" him "in the exercise of his functions," its constitution provided for inclusion of four Directors but no Secretary. In fact the office of the D.P.I. with its authority and accumulated traditions gradually took on the aspect more of an institution which inspired a feeling of deep impersonal respect for its incumbent. Men like Sir Alexander Grant and Sir Alexander Pedler whose names we just mentioned by the way, were among not a few others who added lustre to it.

In the fore-going circumstances the super-imposition of a Secretary did not in the least affect the Director's position. But its incongruity was evident enough to bring periodically to the fore the question if the D.P.I. should be given the status of a Secretary. It was seriuosly debated with the turn of the century but was decided in the negative largely for fear lest the additional burden would handicap him in the discharge of his existing onerous duties. No doubt a Director's load of work was often excessive, and with acceleration of progress and pursuit of an increasingly active policy, it tended to grow more burdensome. But that was largely due to the fact that he was overburdened with petty details which unavoidably engaged his attention on account of "lamentably inadequate" staff of experienced officers at the headquarters. The remedy prescribed was therefore worse than the disease. For a Secretary interposed between him and Government could not of course afford him relief where it was needed but on the contrary might and often did add to his difficulty.

Amidst the far-reaching changes following the introduction of constitutional reforms, D.P.I. remained as before the administrative head of the education department and the technical adviser to Government on matters of educational policy. In many provinces, if not all, he still continued a member of the local legislative council taking his seat beside the Minister as an exponent and defender of educational policies. The Minister who was responsible to the legislature for conduct of education was given no freedom however to appoint a Director of his choice so long as an I.E.S. Officer was eligible for the post. Even within the confines of the I.E.S. his discretion to select one in preference to another was largely fettered. Diarchy as is well-known was generally worked by Ministers —in Bengal and C.P. there was for a fairly long period no Minister at all—who, thanks to political boycott and opposition, held their position more by official favour and support than by popular backing, and they had for the most part short and uncertain tenures of office with the result that it was the Director who virtually controlled education, though nominally the Minister was at the top.

In the new situation which called for readjustment in so many ways, the old controversy about the relation of the D.P.I. vis-a-vis the Secretary was naturally renewed. As already observed, the case for a separate Secretary rested on grounds more assumed than real. Now economic distress and financial stringency served particularly to underline the extravagance of the system—and caused a certain amount of heart-searching. Nevertheless few provinces disturbed the old order which survived even the later onslaught of the worst economic blizzard of the thirties responsible otherwise for drastic cuts in educational budgets of the Central and local Governments. It was only C.P. which quite early after the introduction of the Reforms gave its Director the status of a Secretary and continued the arrangement till 1940, while in Bengal and the U.P. he was attached to the Secretariat entrusted practically with all the functions of the Secretary, though designated for technical reasons as Deputy Secretary. Bengal however had soon abandoned the experiment without giving it a fair trial and remained unmoved by the wise counsels of its own Retrenchment Committee (1923) which in no uncertain terms condemned the system as superfluous, wasteful and dilatory.

The educational scene unfolded above which showed the D.P.I. in a pivotal position and his office in glamour gradually changed, particularly with the coming-in of Provincial Autonomy in 1935. In a democracy where every action of a public servant, however high and mighty, was open to unrestricted criticism in the legislature, the halo surrounding the office and its awe-inspiring character was naturally and rightly gone. The Director equally justifiably lost his former pre-ponderance as the Minister-in-charge gained strength derived from his comfortable majority in the legislature and popular backing outside. But this was not the whole story.

The Minister's tendency to interfere in administrative detail, though not altogether absent in the previous regime (vide Hartog Committee Report, pp. 343-4) from now on became more manifest and resolute. Education got more and more mixed up with politics, and continuing pressure was brought to bear upon administration, often successfully, to influence decisions, in communal, party, or individual interests. The subordinate staff, therefore, increasingly turned from the Director to the Minister for furtherance of their interests, legitimate and illegitimate, relying either upon an M.L.C. or a party boss, or some such extraneous support with consequent loss of discipline, efficiency and morale of the entire service.

The I.E.S. from which the Directors had for many years past come to be invariably chosen had no doubt "fine traditions of integrity and devotion to duty," and further in the ultimate guarantee of their service rights and privileges at the hands of the Secretary of State they possessed a strong armour against inroads on their liberty of action. But unfortunately it cannot be said of them that in the new milieu they were always able to keep the flag flying high. All this tended to undermine the Director's influence and authority in the department and lower his prestige in public eye. Of course the exact position varied between one province and another and greatly depended upon the personal equation between the parties concerned.

Meanwhile the I.E.S. had largely changed its initial complexion of a white bureaucracy and was now steadily approaching extinction, recruitment having been completely abandoned since 1924 in pursuance of the principle accepted on the recommendation of the Lee Commission that the authority responsible for any branch of administration should be fully free to organise its own services. The topmost positions, however, were still occupied by the British officers who by habits of mind and by circumstances were generally speaking objective and detached in their outlook and action. Circumstances alluded to arose from the aloofness which as members of an alien ruling race they consistently maintained and which, though deplored for other reasons, helped them at any rate to maintain on the whole an impersonal administration. An ironical turn was given to the disappearance of the European element from positions of control and authority—'a consummation devoutly to be wish'd'—by the perceptible deterioration of the standard of administration in so far as it was influenced by parochial and personal considerations.

In 1940 or thereabout the Indian I.E.S. Officers came to be appointetd as Directors though in some important provinces which include Bengal the change-over was delayed till about the time of attainment of independence. By that time the I.E.S was virtually liquidated everywhere—the last of them to hold the D.P.I's office finished his career early in 1949. The new batch of Directors, recruited provincially sometimes by promotion from lower service on comparatively less attractive salary scales, naturally, had not the stature and prestige of their predecessors, and, secondly being without the latter's special rights and privileges to which they were entitled as appointees of the Secretary of State were more vulnerable to attacks on their delegated authority.

It may not be out of place to mention in the present context an incident which happened within my knowledge. The Chairman of an important Commission once compared the D.P.I.'s position (that was prior to the enactment of Hindu Divorce Law) to that of a Hindu wife. He made no secret of his belief that a D.P.I. would not dare to open his lips in the presence of the Education Secretary. The occasion for the remark arose when a certain D.P.I. appeared by direction of his Government to give evidence before the Commission along with the Secretary and was asked by some of its members to give his frank opinion on one or two specific questions. The Chairman was himself a veteran Education Minister, was apparently unacquainted with the past traditions of his own department. A much to his chagrin he had to give way when his colleagues insisted on hearing the Director. May be he was eager to parry the latter's view as he was hard-pressed for time, or more probably because he had reason to suspect that its ventilation would not suit his end. Be that as it may, such a gibe from a former Education Minister—what a contrast it really was to earlier references to this high office which we saw in despatches, reports and communications previously quoted—was not only flabbergasting to everyone present in the forum where it was glibly uttered but it patently carried a sinister significance also. It was a pointer to the depth of degradation to which he may have dragged down the position of his Director in course of his administration. There were not perhaps many Education Ministers who thought and acted similarly, but the incident gives a clear indication of the direction in which the wind had a tendency to blow under changed climatic conditions.

The period of provincial autonomy was one of great stress and strain caused on the one hand by political turmoil and communal strife and on the other by the impact of the world war. The time was hardly propitious for concentration on educational problems, and for the matter of that, for any fundamental change in the structure of educational administration. But the ground was prepared for it towards the end of the period. The Report of the Central Advisory Board on Post-war Educational Development subjected the policy of dual control to strong criticism and recommended that the D.P.I. should be assigned the direct responsibility for the general administration of education with the Secretary's post totally abolished but in case a separate post of the kind be considered at all necessary, he should combine both. The recommendation was accepted by the Governor-General-in-Council in 1945 and their decision conveyed to the provinces early in 1946. The Central Ministry of Education set the example by following its own precept in its organisational set-up.

A new era dawned with the end of the British rule in 1947. And as expected there was at once evinced abounding enthusiasm for educational reconstruction and reform. Indeed with the passage of time it became more and more of a fashion. But the good old advice previously referred to went practically unheeded. The organisational pattern inherited from the past like the weather was just taken for granted. Bihar was the only exception where in 1950-51 the Director's and the Secretary's offices were merged into a single unit, though a separate Secretary's post was still retained. In truncated Bengal the **status quo** was maintained as elsewhere but an educationist instead of an officer of administrative or civil service was soon appointed Secretary. The innovation defeated the very object of the dual system of control which was to get the purely departmental view of an expert Director re-examined not however by another professional expert but from a wider point of view free from pedagogical obsessions. Such an arrangement was therefore calculated to destroy the Director's responsibility as Government's professional adviser and add to his sense of frustration.

The fore-going recommendation has since been reiterated time and again by the Central Advisory Board of Education. The latest of the Commissions to endorse the view and urge its acceptance were the Secondary Education Commission of 1952-3, popularly known as Mudaliar Commission, and in West Bengal in particular the Dey Commission of 1954. But the obvious desideratum is no nearer realisation. On the contrary there is a swing back of the pendulum in the Punjab which went back upon its century-old tradition in 1958 and has fallen in line with the rest.

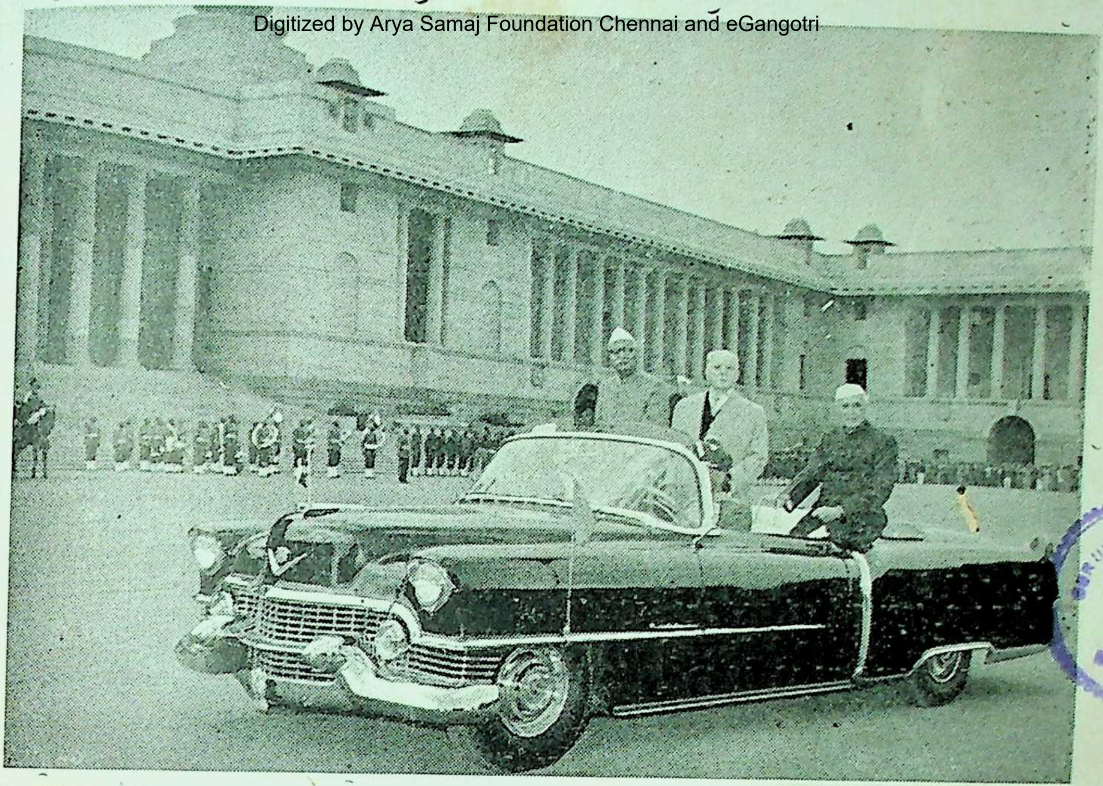
Of late, however, West Bengal Government have moved in the right direction by amalgamating the Secretary's post with the D.P.I.'s. But no corresponding step has been taken to merge and integrate the Directorate and the Secretariat offices. This seems a half-hearted measure. Nothing can be more anomalous for the Secretary than to see his own considered proposal submitted in his capacity as Director subjected to a fresh scrutiny in the Secretariat by his subordinates and then to have second thoughts on the subject in the light of the latter's nothings and observations. It obviously makes no sense for him to play Jekyll and Hyde. But it is not yet clear if Government intend to follow up the step already taken. Rather the fact that budgetary provision is still being made for the D.P.I.'s post gives the present arrangement the impression of a make-shift. There seems to exist no point in halting or vacillating between two paths.

The inherent defect of the dual system is too well-recognised to need further elaboration beyond what incidentally has already been disclosed here. It has long been condemned as an expensive superfluity which hampers rather than helps business as much by its cumbrous and dilatory procedure in course of which the original proposal or scheme often gets distorted or misconstrued as by constant antagonism which characterises the relationship between the two offices. The persistence of its existence would therefore seem curious. A plausible explanation which is sometimes offered is the failure of a few past D.P.I.s who by virtue of seniority came to hold the responsible post from the teaching side without the requisite administrative experience. If it were at all true, the Secretary's post by parity of reasoning should have been done away with long ago, and with greater justification. It is not denied that the fore-going argument does pin-point a vital defect in the existing organisational basis of educational service carried over from the past. We do not dispute that there should be serious re-thinking about it, particularly as we find that a certain State Government, may be others too, is confronted with the difficulty of selecting a suitable Director from the long list of its senior officers.

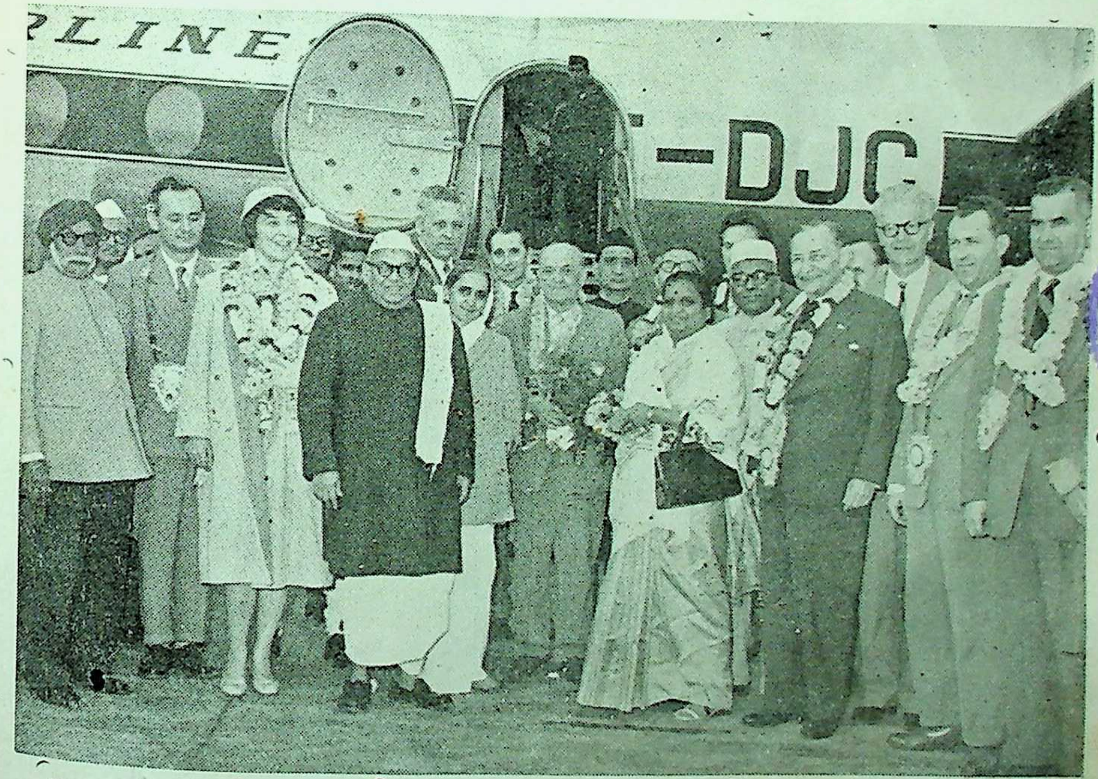
But to resume the original thread of our discussion, the actual reason for the prolonged life of the dual system is to be found, as Sargent has observed, chiefly in "the traditional claim of the I.C.S. to be able to administer anything"—a claim which was consistently upheld even in later days when by and large it was said to have fallen off from its original high standard. The I.A.S. which has now largely taken its place has no such pretensions. But that does not prevent its officers from being placed in positions of control and authority over D.P.I.'s irrespective of the latter's qualifications, experience and ability. It is "the habit of governmental organisations to be resistant to evolutionary changes."

Education now proceeds apace under successive five-year plans which by the way has reversed the process of decentralisation which was progressively achieved between 1870 and 1920. Today the centre of gravity of India's educational world has doubtless shifted back to Delhi. In Bengal for instance, development expenditure in 1959-60, controlled in the main by the Centre, accounts for more than Rs. 9½ crores in a total budget of less than Rs. 13½ crores. Some welcome this trend while others regret it. It falls outside the limited scope of our subject to expatiate on it except just to note that as a consequence of this development, D.P.I.s nowadays find that part of their occupation which concerns initiation, formulation, and direction of policies as nearly gone.

An old-timer can hardly conceive of the never-ending streams of recommendations and resolutions, which today inundate the Central Ministry of Education from the innumerable meetings, conferences, seminars, symposia, workshops, etc. held all the year round under its direct or indirect auspices. In this huge accumulation of opinion and advice, any new idea or suggestion from an individual Director is like a pin in a bundle of hay. As in a free market economy, each individual firm has a negligible effect on the output of the industry as a whole and has to take the price of the industry's product as fixed and unalterable, so is the position of a D.P.I. in regard to the Central plan. He is now reduced to the position of a virtual executive officer who is responsible for carrying out, besides his normal routine duties, the policy of the Plan, adjusting it to local conditions and requirements. In the process of adjustment, how far the national plan can be cast in local moulds and how



Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President Voroshilov and Prime Minister Nehru driving in an open car in front of the Rashtrapati Bhawan



Parliamentary Delegation from Czechoslovakia at the Palam Air Port

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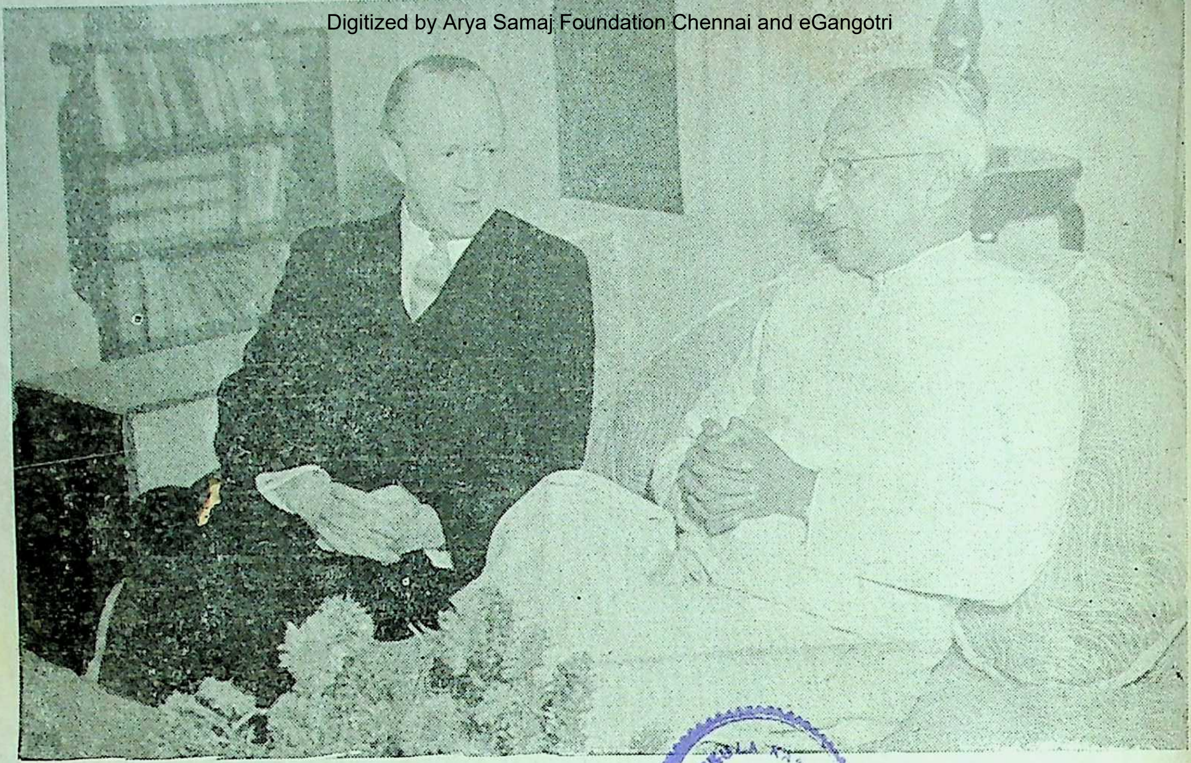

Mr. C. J. M. Alport, British Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, with the Vice-President

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Mrs. Alva Myrdal, Ambassador of Sweden in India, delivering her address on the occasion of the Foundation Day of the Central Institute of Education far it has to end in make-believe is beside the point here. What however is relevant is that a policy in any case is not likely to be successfully executed, especially in the sphere of development activities, unless there is close and constant touch between policy-making and execution levels. It is equally important that the time-schedule laid down in the Plan should be as closely as possible adhered to. Neither is facilitated under the present dispensation due to the existence in between of the Secretary and his office as a bottleneck.

Such considerations as above reinforce the argument for, and lend a special urgency to, the right solution of the vexed problem of dual system of control in the educational administration of a State.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BRAIN AND MIND

The Hindu Concept

By S. R. DASGUPTA, M.B.B.S., D.Phil.

The people who settled in the valley of the great Sindhu (Indus) and in the course of history came to be known as the Hindus, developed the concept of mind and recognized its great influence on the body. Their concept of mind and its relationship to the body took discernible shape even in the days of the Upanishads, conservatively estimated to be 3,000 years ago. From then onwards the study of the mind has constituted and ultimately developed into a system of knowledge which can, in terms of modern language, be described as the science of psychology of the Hindus.

The Hindus developed their study of mind in the course of religious unfolding. The utilitarian aspect of this religious study was not completely lost on them; if, indeed, from their point of view, a distinction between the useful and the religious can be made. For hundreds of years they have been using their knowledge of psychology not only as a method for the unfolding of religious truth, as the basis of their deep philosophy, but also as an aid in the field of medicine and the key to health, poise and harmonized living. The central theme even in their medical science and social ethics, has always been an urge for the realization of the ultimate truth.

In Hindu psychology we come across three (in reality, two) basic principles: (1) the Soul, which is consciousness and which is the manifestation of Atman—unchanging reality or ultimate truth; (2) the body which is, an aspect of objective reality and (3) the mind (chitta)—the "Antaksharan" of Vedanta—which is a dynamic link between the Soul and the objective reality and which recieves the objects of perception, assuming their form as a whole. "It is the Soul that desires knowledge and acts through the channel of mind."

The mind is conceived to be comprised of two components, one of which appeared to be concerned with the objective world, when it acts in unison with the body—the mind-body complex. The other component, which seems to be the real concern of Hindu thought, is associated with consciousness. Consciousness is the "primary datum, the fundamental premise, equated with Reality."

But it is not easy to draw a line of demarcation between the mind that is superconscious and the mind that is endowed with determinable attributes. The distinction, to say the least, is extremely subtle and the two compartments freely overlap to the utter confusion of the uninitiated like myself. I shall, therefore, confine myself to the examination of the determinate conscious, i.e., the mind, which along with the senses and the other subtle and gross elements, according to the "Sankhya-Yoga" philosophy, is thought to have originated from the union of the changeless, eternal, transcendental pure consciousness, the "Purusha" and the elemental, undifferentiated stuff of mind and matter, the "Prakriti." It would do well to stress again that in Hindu concept, mind or consciousness is not considered exactly opposed to matter. Rather, it is a product, a point in the evolutionary process, the concretized terminus of which is known as gross matter. In other words, mind and matter taken in the ordinary sense occupy different points on a spectrum that originally stemmed, whatever the mechanism, from that unknown principle, the supreme being of all different schools of Hindu philosophy.

This is very well illustrated by the Vedanta philosophy. According to this philosophy there is ultimate real, "Brahman." The expression of "Brahman" in an individual is called "Atman." They imply no duality. Atman and Brahman are one. According to the Vedanta the cosmos is made of Prakriti, the elemental, undifferentiated stuff of mind and matter.

Both Vedanta and Sankhya Yoga philosophy agree that Purusha or Brahman can be entirely liberated and isolated from Prakriti.

Prakriti is said to be composed of three forces "Swatta" (intelligence stuff), "Rajas" (energy stuff) and "Tamas" (mass stuff) which are known collectively as three "Gunas" which are in a state of dynamic equilibrium. As long as the Gunas maintain their equilibrium, Prakriti remains undifferentiated and the universe exists only in its potential state. The interaction of the Gunas provides the motive power for the creative process. In the Hindu system of thought, the first stage of evolution from undifferentiated Prakriti is called "Mahat" (the great cause). Mahat is the cosmic ego-sense, the first dawing of differentiated consciousness.

Thus, creation is an evolution outward from undifferentiated into differentiated consciousness, from mind to matter. Pure consciousness is, as it were, gradually covered by successive layers of "ignorance" or differentiation.

Bearing this in mind, we may now proceed to examine Hindu literature with a view to collecting evidence in support of an objective mind. Two sets of evidences are available: one, that provided by the Indian system of medicine, the "Ayurveda" the other, of course, that provided by the philosophy and religious texts of the Hindus. But the basic approach, even of the Hindu medical system, is not very dissimilar from that of their philosophies.

According to the medical or the Ayurvedic concept, life ("Prana") consists in the combination of the Soul and the Mind and its attributes. The mind ("Manah" or chitta") is a quality or power of the soul by which the person thinks and reasons. It is incomprehensible, and is known by its actions through the senses. The mind is described as situated in the head, between the eyebrows; and resembling the light of a lamp by which a person knows, sees, hears, tastes and moves.

The Ayurveda describes the most vital parts of the body as the "Sirsa" the head "Hridaya" the heart and the "Vasti" the pelvis. The Sirsa, i.e., the head, contains the "Mastiska," i.e., the brain. The pranas i.e. the vital energy and all the senses, are said to depend on the Mastiska or the brain. In one of the important commentaries (Chakrapani's) it has been explained that when the head is hurt all the senses are also hurt. According to authorities like Charaka all the senses are connected with the head. Bhela, a contemporary of Agnibesh, considers brain to be the centre of "Manas," the sensorium. Being here, it knows all the sense objects and the tastes which come near it. The original cause of manas and the energy of all the senses and the cause of all feelings and judgment ("buddhi"), however, is chitta, the mind. The chitta is also the cause of all mental functions and activities. Manas informs chitta and then only action begins. The chitta is thus regarded as the cause of all activities, feelings and judgment. Buddhi, that is, the determinate understanding or judgement, is but a function of chitta. Manas has its seat in the brain, and is the cause of all cognition. Bhela says that "dosas" (afflictions) in the brain affect the manas, and as the result of this chitta is affected which in turn, involves understanding judgment (buddhi), thus re ing in madness. The seat of buddhi (determinate understanding and judgement) is also situated within the cranium. It is said to be located at a place betweeen the eye-brows. According to Bhela, it being there holds together the subtle forms emanating from the atman, associates the data. integrates them with other similar known facts, remembers the past and after producing our knowledge in conceptual and judicious forms, wills for future deeds. generates instructive actions. and is the force which operates meditation and restraint of thought. It would appear then that Manas and Buddhi. both of which are located in the brain, together encompass the faculties of chitta the mind. Another important authority on Ayurveda, namely Drdhabala also associated sensory conciousness with the head, whereas Charaka refers to the Hridaya (translated by some as the heart, by others as the core of the brain) as the central seat of the soul and consciousness. Susruta, the other great available authority dealing mostly with Surgery and Obstetrics, does not have much to say about the mind consciousness though he describes in detail some of the cranial nerves.

Ayurveda, thus, furnishes evidence in support of the concept that chitta, or mind is intimately related with the brain.

We may now take a look into the numerous systems of Indian philosophy. Though every system of philosophy has had something to say about the soul, mind and body, it will be convenient for us to confine ourselves to those wherein the subject has been dealt with objectively. If judgement is made from this point of view, Patanjali's system of Hindu psychology should attract immediate attention, as well as the philosophy of "Tantra," both of which introduce a semblance of anatomical structure in their speculation of mind and soul.

But before going into these systems, it would do well to mention here and now that not all schools of Hindu thought recognised a superconscious role of the mind. For the 'Charvakas' or the 'Lokayatas' (Hindu materialists) maintained that consciousness was a product of the body and perished with the body. As consciousness is perceived to exist in the perceptible living body composed of material elements, it must be, according to these original propounders of materialist thought among the Hindus, a quality of the body itself. Thought process, cognition and emotion are merely the products of nerve reactions, and the so-called mind is only a bundle of successive sensations dependent upon the nervous system and physical brain matter. Consciousness has no independent existence. These materialists were then in no doubt about the relationship between the mind and the brain.

Now to revert back to the orthodox philosopies: The study of mind. as has already been said, was undertaken and developed by the Hindus in the course of religious unfoldment. To them, mind as such was not opposed to matter. Moreover. the stabilization of mind necessary for the realization of the Atman or the Soul, it was appreciated, could be achieved through the matter, i.e., the body. The science of psychology was, therefore, mainly developed by the Hindus as they studied the methods by which reached the highest religious experience. the superconscious state.

The Hindu system of psychology has been described in the "Yoga Sutras" of Patanjali (C. 150 B.C.), though references to psychological principles and practices are to be met in many other ancient treatises, including the Upanishads. The Buddhistic literature also gives many definite and practical ideas of applying psychology for the unification and the strengthening of the mind. It is, however. in the aphorisms of Patanjali that the most elaborate and systematic treatise on "Yoga" is available at present.

According to Patanjali, the mind (chitta) is made up of three components. manas, buddhi and ahamkar. Manas is the recording faculty which receive impressions gathered by the senses from the outside world and also the sensory perceptions from within the body. Buddhi is the discriminative faculty which classifies these impressions and reacts to them. Ahamkar is the ego-sense. The mind appears to be intelligent and conscious. It is, in reality. not so according to "Yoga philosophy." It has only a borrowed intelligence. It merely reflects the consciousness and thus gives the appearance of being conscious.

Knowledge is a thought wave in the mind. All knowledge is, therefore, objective (except of course the "Prajna-knowledge" to be referred to later). Mind is not the seer but only an instrument of knowledge. The Atman (the real Self, the Purusha) is the real seer and remains unknown, i.e., does not belong to the objective world. The ego-sense is caused by the false identification of the Atman with the mind. Mind must be purified (stayed) for the realization of the Atman.

The word "yoga", which was formerly used in Vedic literature in the sense of restraint of the senses, is used by Patanjali in his "Yoga-sutra" in the sense of partial or full restraint or steadying of the state of chitta or mind. The word chitta has been used in the yoga aphorisms in contradistinction to manas to express the entity that is mind, whereas manas seems to be concerned with the reception and or perception of sensations both internal and external. The mind of ordinary people is unsteady, only short-lived concentration is usually possible with such a mind; that is, it flits from object to object.

The "Yoga" system aims for a stage in which the chitta processes are absolutely stopped, and the mind, thus freed from all cognizable attributes, achieves a stage when it comes into unison with the soul. This is the state of 'chittanirodha' (cessation of mental processes). It should be stressed that it is considered a normal attribute of the chitta to sometimes tend towards liberation or soul consciousness and at other time to incline towards the 'Samsara' i.e., the objective world. "The teleology of Prakriti (the creative force) requires that it should produce in man the samsara as well as the liberation tendency." This point is rather important, for it gives the key of yoga ethics and shows that this desire of liberation is not activated by a hedonistic attraction, happiness or even removal of pain, but by an innate tendenc of the mind to follow the path of liberation.

Man has power stored up in his chitta and has to use it in such a way that thi tendency may gradually grow stronger an stronger and ultimately uproot the othe i.e., the tendency towards Samsara. H must succeed in this because "Prakri wants liberation for its final realization."

The existence of the mental states i potential forms in the subconscious is th root idea of yoga-psychology. The subconscious mental states resemble the conscious mental states so far as the substanc stuff or constituents of which they ar made up are concerned, but still there i an essential difference between the tw viz., that one is unconscious while the othe is conscious. Why, if their substance b the same, should the mental states at on time be conscious and at other times b unconscious? This seems to imply th association with some other elemen According to yoga-philosophy this oth element is the soul or Atman, the transce dent influence of which somehow elect fies the mental states into consciousnes

If this is considered from a psycho gical point of view, mind according to th Yoga system is a product of certain sup sensuous and super-subtle reals which a in essence characterized as feeling su stances. Since feelings are not treat separately from cognitive acts, it appe that the whole mind-stuff is regarded mo or less in the light of a matted mass feeling stuff. These super-subtle subst tive entities are cognition, volition a feelings.

The subconscious aspect of the mi is said to be the store-house of two-f potencies: (1) those which are the res of the experiences of past lives, t "Vasanas," and which operate as inn tendencies or instincts of this life, and those which are the results of repe experience of this life.

But if in the perceptual state of consciousness, we are determined by influx of sensations, and in our thou processes, choice and volition with ac mulated experience of the past acts as tendencies, we seem in no way to be our own masters and to have no power for moral endeavour at our disposal at all. But yoga psychology maintains that we can by the exercise of our will and concentration attain final emancipation from the bond of all worldly experience and eventually free the soul from the bondage of the mind. The yogin seeks deliverance from every bondage even from the bondage of the mind. The attainment of perfect morality and self-control (by acquiring the virtues of universal non-injury, truthfulness, etc., technically known as "Yama" and "Niyama") are the indispensable preliminaries only. Thus when the yogin's mind has been sufficiently purified and is no longer disturbed by ordinary moral strivings, he endeavours to engage himself in a higher work, viz., that of staying the movements of the mind-states.

The mind has been conceived to be like the flame of a lamp, always changing. A man is, as it were, forever being tossed upon the crests of waves of thought. Therefore, he is in need of restraint and concentration which are brought about by the processes called 'dharana,' i.e., restraint of thought and 'dhyan,' i.e., concentration. By a process of continually presenting the same object to the mind, a habit is generated and a potency of fixation is acquired in the sub-conscious, and gradually the changeful character of the mind ceases and the mind becomes one with object. At this stage there are no fluctuations of mental states. The mind becomes one with object of thought absolutely still and motionless. This state is called 'samadhi'. When the mind becomes thus fixed on one object, it is said that immediate cognition of the real nature of the object dawns on the mind. This is called Prajna-knowledge. In its character as immediate and direct, Prajna-knowledge resembles perception, but it does not fluctuate, and so the nature of the reality of the object appears in one undisturbed flash. In this way, as the yogin progresses, new flashes of true wisdom are realized by him, the potencies and impressions of his old phenomenal knowledge are gradually destroyed and there comes a time when he is able to perceive the true nature of the atman as distinguished from the mind.

Thus four basic deductions come out of orthodox Hindu philosophy:

(1) That the mind has a physical existence, (2) that the changeful processes of the mind can at a certain state be brought to a standstill, (3) that such a state can give us a new grade or dimension of knowledge, (4) that as a culmination and highest level of this knowledge, the pure individual self as pure intelligence can be known.

The final outcome, therefore, is that the mind which was conceived at the beginning to be standing between the soul and the object can be completely freed from the object.

But before that could be even thought of, the mind itself has to be prepared, it has to be stayed, i.e., the state of complete chittanirodha has to be established. This the yogin brings about by practicing "Rajyoga." The processes of Rajyoga appear to be intimately connected with functioning of the central and autonomic nervous systems. The central theme of these practices seems to be the arousal of some dormant energy, "the kulakandalini," which in its turn ascends through the centre part of the spinal cord and in its ascent controls the various centres, the so called 'chakras'/'padmas' (analogous perhaps to the various nerve plexuses of the presentday anatomy), until it reaches the brain. In the brain itself, it comes in contact with a few more such chakras or centres, and after suitably controlling them the Kundalini reaches the 'Sahasrara', the thousand petalled lotus, situated in the cerebrum. Here the Kundalini is supposed to activate the Sahasrara, and that produces the state of 'Samadhi'.

It may be worthwhile to enumerate these chakras and their functions, as that will point towards a physiological basis for the phenomenal mind, but it will be more convenient to do so after the 'Tantrik' concept of mind has been briefly referred to, because in the Tantras also we come across a similar type of concept of central nervous system and nerve plexuses.

The folowers of the Tantrik philosophy also seek the union of 'Jivatma' (the atman in the living being with the 'Paramatma' the Supreme). One of the ways, the common way so to speak, is by the way of yoga practices wherein such a concentration of the mind is sought as will lead to the ultimate union. It is interesting to note that the Tantra view regarded the human body and mind, the microcosm, to be an exact parallel or counterpart of the macrocosm or the exterior universe. Tantrik processes were elaborated in order to help the yogi to narrow the field of his concentration to himself alone so that during his 'Sadhana' (Practices) he may find in himself a perfect finished universe. This was naturally calculated to help him to concentrate his attention on himself, for when he has known himself he has known the universe. The doctrine of "Sat-chakra-Veda" (the mastery of the Chakras) is a means to the ultimate goal of union of Jivatma and Paramatma, for here the 'Jiva' in the 'Kula-Kundalini' is roused up by yogic practices, and as it travels up and gradually identifies itself with different chakras, the seats of different forces that are associated with diverse passions, it establishes complete mastery of the chakras. In this way the yogin ultimately reaches to topmost centre, the 'Sahasrara.' As the 'Sadhaka' (yogi) identifies himself with each of these centres of force, the influence of these forces in binding him ceases and he passes from one centre of force to another until he identifies himself with the Paramatman and is liberated.

Both Raj-yoga and Tantra-yoga practices, are based on a concept of the central nervous system and nerve plexuses, which is almost empirical in nature. The central nervous system of both yogas consists of the intra-cranial portion and the spinal column. Situated in the spinal column is a nerve (nadi) called the "Susumna." The nerves "Ida" and "Pingala" are situated on the right and left respectively of the susumna in the spinal cord. All of them start from the root at the end of the central column (spinal column) and then proceed upwards to the highest cerebral plexus called the "Sahasra" "Brahma chakra," the plexus of a thousand nerves.

It will be more to the point to omit a detailed description of the nerves and to consider the most important feature of Tantra school of Anatomy, the chakras, or the padmas (lotuses), the nerve plexuses/centres. Of these the first is the Adhara-chakra (Muladhara) generally translated as sacrococcygeal plexus. It is situated in the perineal region and is supposed to be the source of a massive pleasurable aesthesia, the voluminous organic sensation of repose. In the centre of the plexus there is an elevation. A fine threadlike fibre, spiral in its form, is attached to the central elevation on one side and to the Susumna on the other. "This spiral and coiled fibre is the Kula-kundalini, for it is by this potential energy as manifested in its movement of a downward pressure of the 'Apanavayu' and upward pressure of the 'Pranavayu' that the exhalation and inhalation are made possible and life functions operate."

Next comes the "Swadhisthana chakra," the sacral plexus, near the root of the genitalia, concerned with the excitation of sexual feelings. Next in order is the "manipura chakra," lumber plexus in the region of the navel, concerned with the production of sleep and thirst and passions like jealousy, shame, fear and stupefaction. The "anahata chakra," which comes next, is connected by branches with the heart, the seat of egoistic sentiments, hope, anxiety, doubt, remorse, conceit, egoism, etc. The "bharatisthana," situated probably at the junction of the spinal cord with the medulla oblongata, regulates the larynx and other organs of articulation. The "Lalana chakra," which comes next, is opposite the uvula, the tract affected in the production of ego-altruistic sentiments and affections like self-regard, pride, affection, respect, reverence, etc.

The sensory motor tracts comprises of two chakras: (1) the "ajna chakra," the area of command (over movements) and is supposed to be situated in or related to with the cerebellum and also in the region between the eye-brows, (2) the "manas chakra," the sensorium with its six lobes, five for special senses and one for centrally initiated sensations such as dreams and hallucinations, supposed to be situated near the "ajna chakra." The "soma-chakra' is the seat of altruistic sentiments and volitional control, e.g., compassion, gentleness, patience, renunciation, gravity, determination, etc. It is situated above the "ajna chakra" in the middle of the cerebrum.

The "sahasrara" (thousand lobes) chakra, the upper cerebrum, is the special and the highest seat of the soul. It is very significant that no objective function has been allocated to this Sahasrara. In fact, one of the most important Tantra's, the Shiva-Sanhita, maintains that "this lotus, giver of liberation, stands outside the body.' It would appear, therefore, that the Sahasrara, is not essential for the ordinary functioning of the ogranism.

The process of yoga, both Tantrik and Raj-yogic, consists of rousing the potential energy located in the "Adharachakra" and carrying it upwards along the Susumna or any of its special parts, finally reaching Sahasrara. The Kula-kundalini is described as a lightning flash, which raises the question whether this is actually a physical nerve or merely a potential energy which is to be aroused.

According to the Tantra school of thought, 'manas chakra' is the seat of the mind. 'Vijnana Viksu' says, in his Yoga-varttika, that "one branch of the Susumna goes upwards from here, which is the Nadi for carrying the functions of manas and is called the 'manobaha nadi'." Others call it the 'Jnana-nadi,' i.e., the nerve of knowledge. "It seems, therefore, that it is through this nadi that connection is established between the soul, residing in the Sahasrara and the manas, residing in the manas chakra."

The various practices which are included in the "Kriya Yoga" chapter of the yoga aphorisms through which the mind is freed from all impurities, need not be considered in detail. These disciplines, numbering eight in all, are known as the eight limbs of yoga. They are as follows: 'Yama,' the various forms of abstention from evil doings; 'Niyamas,' the various observances; 'Asana,' postures; 'Pranayama,' control of the Prana (in practice control of breathing to the extent of complete cessation); 'Pratyahara,' withdrawal of the perception of sense objects; 'Dharana,' concentration; and 'Samadhi' a state of supreme realisation.

A cursory view of the above will be enough to understand that step by step the practitioner is trying to establish the state of chittanirodha, in which state only the Prajna-knowledge is revealed. It appears that all the volitional, co-ordinated activities of the organism are carried out by centres or areas of the brain other than the area represented by Sahasrara, conceived to be situated most rostrally.

All functions, physiological and psycological, are under the control of one or more chakras which work in a co-ordinated manner. Broadly, the more psychical functions appear to be allocated to centres whose location are more rostral in the brain and seem to be contained in both subcortical and cortical areas, and in this, there does not appear to be much distinction in function between the cortical and subcortical areas.

More basic functions are associated with centres/plexuses down the axis, some apparently extracranially situated. By implication, it appears these lower centres are under the control of upper centres. Some of the lower centres may very well belong to the autonomic system, which is known to be well under central control. It will be seen then, that all the evidences whether of yoga aphorisms or of the Tantra intimately associate mental functions with various areas of the brain delineated as different chakras with their locations in cortical or subcortical regions. It is also evident that by activation of the Kula-kundalini these chakras or centres which control all the functions of the living organism, can be reoriented in such a way that no impulse can reach the upper centres or even those which reach them are not perceived at all.

Primarily, it looks as though this control is to be worked upwards from below. Practitioners of Hathayoga have convincingly demonstrated the cessation of function of pulse over a single artery and over a whole limb. They have even demonstrated the stoppage of the heart-beat, not to speak of breathing. But these do not give any convincing evidence in support of the idea that the cessation or stoppage is being done by purely peripheral action. It might be true that it is brought about in an ascending order.

It is not even clear whether "Kula-kundalini" is a nerve at all, though some strived to establish that the Kundalini was nothing but the right vagus nerve. Others tend to believe that by Kundalini is meant some dormant energy which when roused can activate control of the various centers of the nervous system. With our present incomplete state of knowledge of neurophysiology, it may not be advisable to attempt any such equation.

Complete cessation of breathing processes seems to be of vital importance in the process of stabilization of the mind. How the physical brain can continue to function in the absence of breathing for any length of time is extremely difficult to understand particularly if it is to be considered from a temporo-spatial point of view. But, then, nobody knows the exact physiological state of the brain during a yogic Samadhi. Not even those who go through that wonderful experience, when the Prajna-knowledge is revealed to them, are capable of communicating in understandable language the nature of this Prajna. To quote Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, "This kind of knowledge will not, of course, be knowledge in the familiar sense, for all Samadhi-knowledge is said to be non-conceptual knowledge and so of a different order."

Therefore, the lack of oxygen may not "Kundalini." In the same vein, the silent be any impediment to the cortex as far as the yogic experience is concerned. The study of whether lowering of the oxygen to a critical subnormal level may lead to hyper-excitability of the cortical neurons or not may also provide some clue to this emphasis on complete stoppage of breathing by the practice of pranayam in the system of yoga. The high concentration carbon dioxide that necessarily follows pranayam, and the consequent effect on the diencephalon and thus on the autonomic balance, should also be kept in mind. The concept of modern physiology that no area of the cortex is independent and that none is capable of any function without its corresponding portion of the old brain however is not acceptable to the yoga system; it is some sort of function of the Sahasrara (certain areas of the cerebral cortex) freed completely from any other influence internal or environmental which is envisaged in this Hindu system of psychology.

In the past decade the hitherto neglected brain stem reticular formation has shot into prominence following the observation of W. H. Magoun and his associates. The studies of Magoun "have brought to the fore the important role of the reticular formation of the brain stem in regulating the background activities of the remainder of the central nervous system."

In this vitally important integrating structure, nuclear masses and fibre tracts relay and convey neural influences basic to the state of consciousness which enable man to react appropriately to his environment. An entirely new approach to the understanding of the mechanism of mental activities, has thus been opened out.

Nothing similar to the brain stem formation through which "the new capacities of each part of the cortex is utilized," seems to have been specifically included in the anatomical descriptions of the yoga and Tantra system. One however, is tempted to speculate and seek to find any possible similarity of the central grey and the vitally important integrating structures, the centrencephalic reticular system with the "Kundalini." In the same vein, the silent areas of the neocortex would then appear to be the only area bearing the remotest resemblance to the Sahasrara of the yogic concept.*

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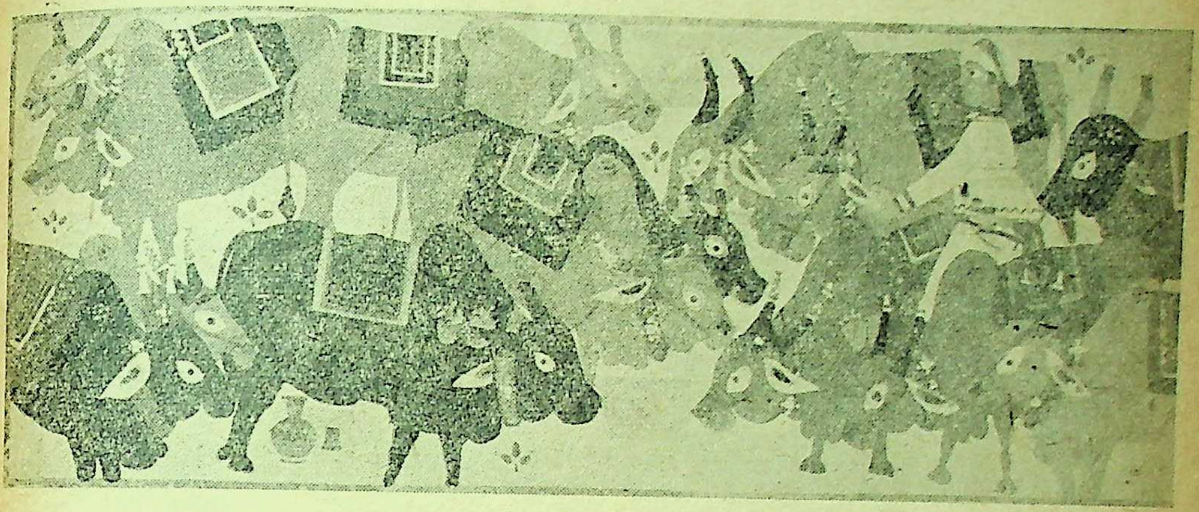
*Abridged from a lecture delivered before the Lunatic Society, Los Angeles, sponsored by the faculty members, University of California, Los Angeles, California.



Cattle Market
By M. Makwana

REVIEW OF THE ANNUAL EXHIBITION OF THE ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

The Winter show of the Academy of Fine Arts in Calcutta is a happy, hardy Annual, which, several weeks ahead, keeps busy **three** lively groups of our citizens, artists giving finishing touches to their pictures, lovers and connoisseurs of pictures looking out for new aesthetic thrills, and keen critics and reviewers assiduously wiping their glasses and polishing their adjectives.

This year's show, the 24th Annual event of the Academy, is invested with a new halo, being set up on the walls of the spacious Hall of their new premises on Cathedral Road, opposite the Victoria Memorial. The New Buildings in a splendid setting provide a brilliant landmark in the 25 years' bright career of the Academy which has year after year, illuminated the cultural life of Calcutta, the foremost Art-Centre of India. In this permanent and happy home of the Academy it will be easy to hold a succession of many exhibitions instead of the single exhibition hitherto held in the borrowed corridors of the Indian Museum.

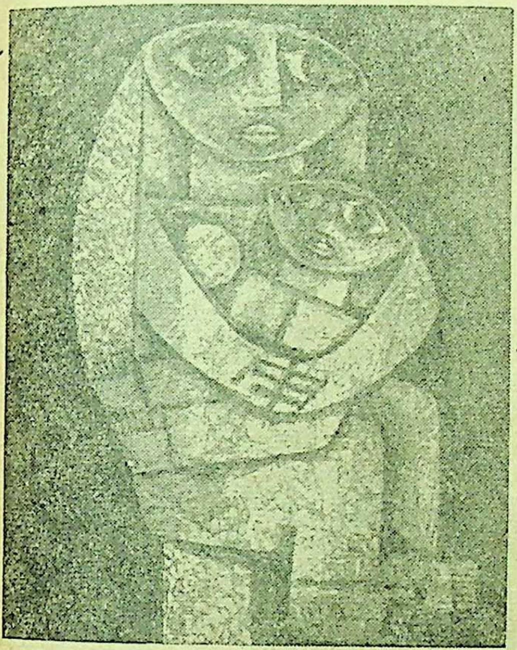
Many people claim, and very rightfully claim, that the Calcutta Academy has built up in the course of its long career rich traditions in showmanship and patronage which in many respects surpass its counterpart at New Delhi. As an All-India show this assembly of painting and sculptures reflect all the new currents in Art and the novel experiments in plastic creations—contributed by all the distant art-Centres of India. This claim can be easily verified by a cursory glance at the exhibits which have come from all corners of India, Delhi, Bombay, Lucknow, Nagpur, Madras, Mysore and various others centres. Though the artists contributing from Bengal are very many, their numbers do not discount the All-India character of the show as a liberal forum for judging all contemporary tendencies developing in all distant regional centres.

It has been the fashion on the part of some critics to complain that the Academy's show does not provide sufficient emphasis on the products of the national Indian Schools of Painting, considering that this city is the birthplace of the New Renaissance in Indian Painting founded by Abanindra Nath Tagore. But for this, the Academy cannot be blamed. For though many of the great disciples of Tagore are still living, they are not contributing to any new development in the national phases of Indian Painting, and very few new devotees of the Indian manner have come forward to continue the movements begun by Tagore and his brilliant disciples.

Portrait of Rabindranath
By Ram Kinkar

This is evident from the exhibits in the Indian Section. The pictures in this section do not maintain a very high level in spite of three contributions from Santi-Niketan. The honours of the Indian tradition have been sought to be maintained by Kalipada Ghoshal by his "Shiva Drinking the Poison" (114) and by a new recruit from Lucknow, Manahar Makwana, who contributes two pulsating pieces—a "Marriage Party" (168) and a lively "Cattle Market Scene" (167). As in former years, A. Almelkar of Bombay contributes several stirring pieces—of which the best is his "Boat-Jetty" (2). Sudhanshu Basu Roy, a senior practitioner of Calcutta, who has made himself famous by his brilliant jungle scenes from Assam (illustrated in the Water-colour Section) has contributed two distinguished pieces to the Indian Section of which his "Lotus after the Rains" happily combines realism with romance. Kalyani Chakravarti's "Uma's toilette" (60), though a striking piece, does not sufficiently uphold her former reputation. Gouri Datta Roy's "Kavi" (111) is a striking effort in Rajput manners with considerable charm and originality. Radha Bagchi's "Sleeping Princess" (16), though honouring the correct atmosphere of the theme, falls short of a happy success. Narendranath Sarkar's 'Hara-Parvati' (98) is a tiny masterpiece of lively originality, challenged by the lesser efforts of Tarapada Basu—with his "Ganesa-Janani" (48). Sunil Pal's "Damsel" (205) is a new courageous presentation of a familiar type deserving highest praises. The "Pet Queen" of Ganesh Pyne (215) and Ramendra Banerjee's "Pot-seller" (23) are sure to win many admirers. But on the whole, the Section is disappointing—and its standard is sought to be raised by introducing two pieces from the brush of the famous master Dr. Nanda Lal Bose "Fish in the current" (44) and "Evening" (34). But the shining high-light of the section is the silk kakemono of Radha Bagchi depicting "Kumar-Sambhava." In the Water-colour Section, magnificently painted and magnificently mounted, there are several distinguished pieces of which "Construction" by Anil Baran Shah elevates un-romatic subjects to romantic heights. In this section there are several thrilling compositions in the most daring modernistic manners which will extort admiration from all sensitive critics. But many well prefer the quiet beauty and the astonishing technique of Gopal Ghose in his masterly presentation of six pieces of "Landscape" which high-light this Section in a charmingly low-key.

In the technique of the Tempera there are several striking exhibits, "Naga Dance" by Manahar Makwana, "Gopis and Krishna" by Almelkar, and "In the Doorway" by Prafulla Tana (277). The best piece in this section is a large picture of a "Devotee" by Sudhir Khastagir (154) who has at last freed himself from the monotonous formulas of his dancing figures to present a stately static figure vibrating with expressive emotion.



Mother and Child
By H. Shah

Kula-Badhu
A. Almelkar

In the Oil Section—there are not many pictures to appeal. Of several portraits in oil, Atul Bose's ostentatious presentation of a "Gentleman in Masonic Robes" is successfully challenged by Kisory Rai's charming study of a little girl entitled "Green Ribbon" (230). Of other studies in oil, a beautiful study of a "Pot with a Flower" by Benode Shah (267) deserves special mention.

Undoubtedly—the back-bone of the exhibition is provided by the rows of pictures arrayed on opposite walls in a formidable battalion of about 100 pieces, painted in the challenging techniques and the modernistic manners of the Indian Post-Impressionists, Cubists, and Abstractionist painters, who have deliberately despised all academic traditions as well as the rich spiritual language of Indian National Schools of Painting. It must be conceded that the Modernists of India, many of them richly possessed of talent and vision, have successfully imitated the famous masters of Modernistic Art of Europe in all their many moods, tricks and inventions, sometimes applied to familiar Indian subjects with striking effects, produced by the disconcerting and daring bravados of Brush-work imported from the French studios,—now famous throughout the world. But this borrowed brilliance of these Indian Modernists signally fail to impress on these products of the **Indian** Brush any manner of **Indian-ness,** or any flavour remotely suggestive of the smell of Indian Soil. Yet, in spite of all their faults and all their virtues, these brilliant essays will undoubtedly provide to the sensitive connoisseurs of the language of forms and colours, many surprising shocks and many new aesthetic thrills as in the enigmatic composition of S. S. Kadam which he calls the "Urge" (141), in the "Pot with a flower" painted by Binode Shah (267), in the lyrical interpretation of a "Message" by S. K. Shinde

(270) and in the imposing composition of a "Mother and Child" (137) by D. N. Joshi. In the Graphic Art Section there are interesting items none achieving a very high level. The series of Crayon studies of "Horses" (88-90) by Sunil Das provide striking high-lights to the Black and White Section. The Sculpture Section, though confined to 25 pieces, has many attractive items —of which the best is the study of Rabindranath Tagore—contributed by Ram Kinkar Baiz, "the Man and the Moon" by Kumar Robin Roy and the "Dipa-Lakshmi" (53) excellently interpreted by Deva Vrata Chakravartty.

This distinguished array of about 30 exhibits rigorously selected from 3,00 pieces of submissions is a rich fair of aesthetic delights of diverse flavours and divergent tastes and will happily cater to all varieties of picture-lovers and devotees at the shrines of beauty.*

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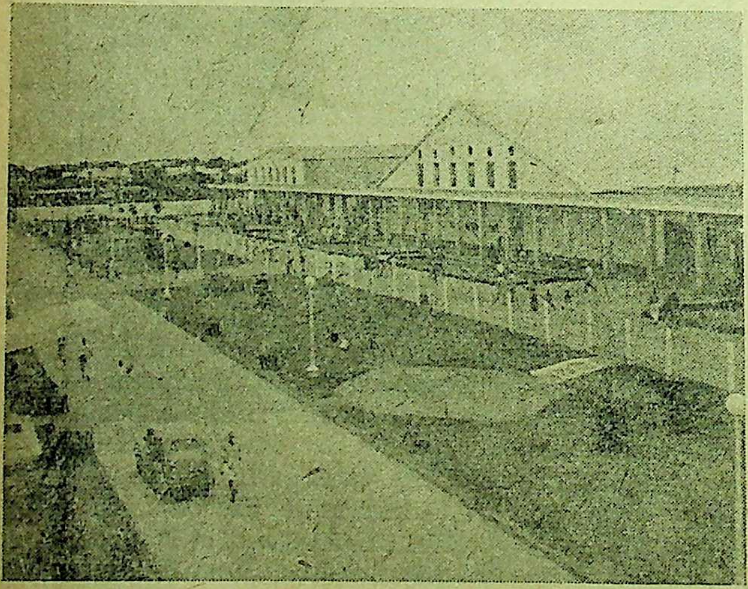
*By the courtesy of the All-Indi Radio, Calcutta.

HINDUSTAN MACHINE TOOLS FACTORY

Production Level to Reach 1,000 Machines in 1960, 2,000 in 1963

The Hindustan Machine Tools, Bangalore, is selling all the lathes, milling machines and radial drills it can make and order-books are already full for the current and the next year.



The neat lay-out of the Factory

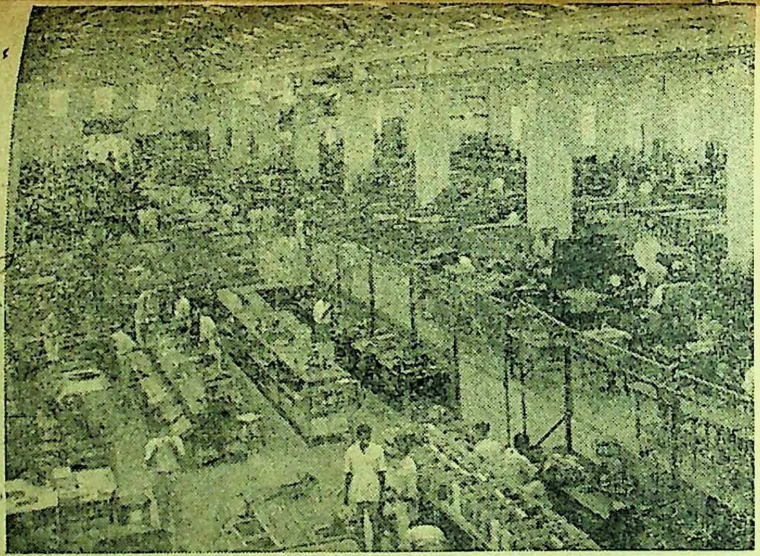
The range of machines manufactured now includes 14 types of high precision lathes, six types of milling machines, 10 types of radial drills and 44 types of lathes of the Batignolles types. Recently it ha taken up a new line of production— grinding machines. HMT has entered int a seven-year technical collaboration agre ment with Messrs Olivetti, an Italian firm for the manufacture of these machines.

With the signing of this agreement— the fourth technical collab ration agreement in thre years—the Factory will b able to supply to the countr a further 16 types of machi tools in addition to its exis ing range of 74 types.

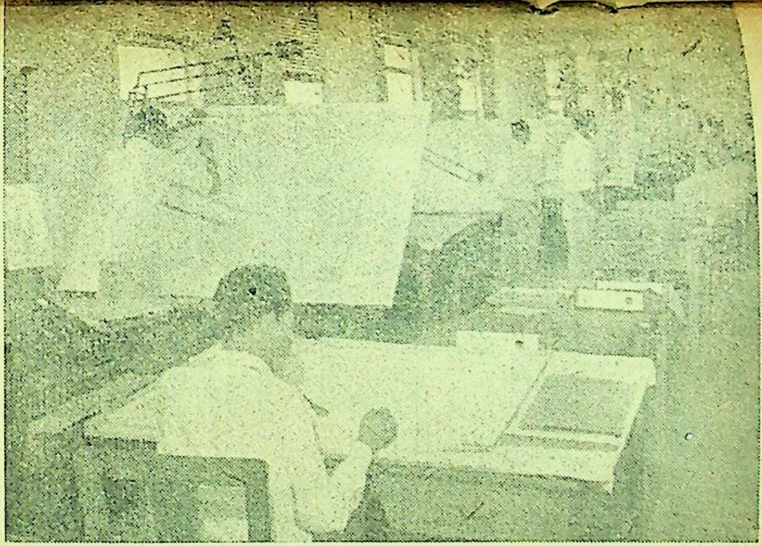
In terms of diversificati of production, HMT has, i deed, done exceedingly we A little over three yea back, it was producing o one standard lathe.

During the current ye 1959-60, production will b above 700 machines valu at Rs. 2.5 crores. Producti rate has substantially i creased in the last four yea The Second Plan target of p duction was achieved th years ahead of schedul as early as 1957-58, when 402 machi valued at Rs. 1.4 crores were manufactu

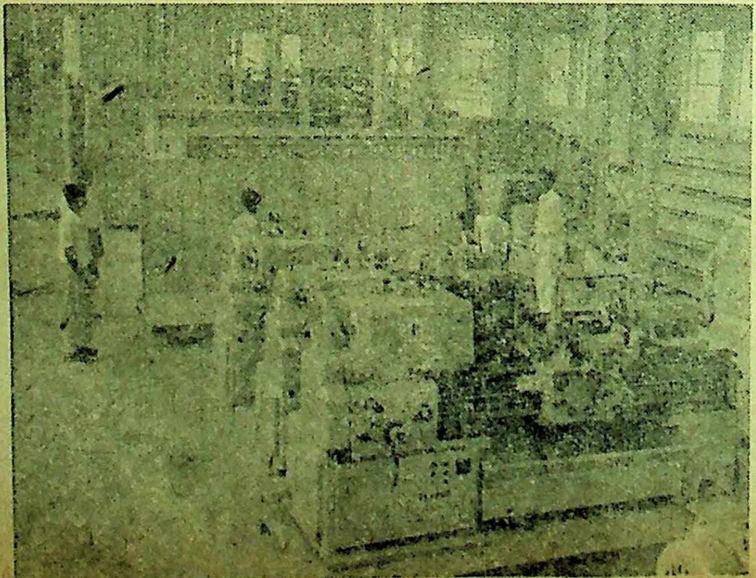
This was made possible by reorg sation and multiple-shift-working for fu



An Interior View of Workshop Shed



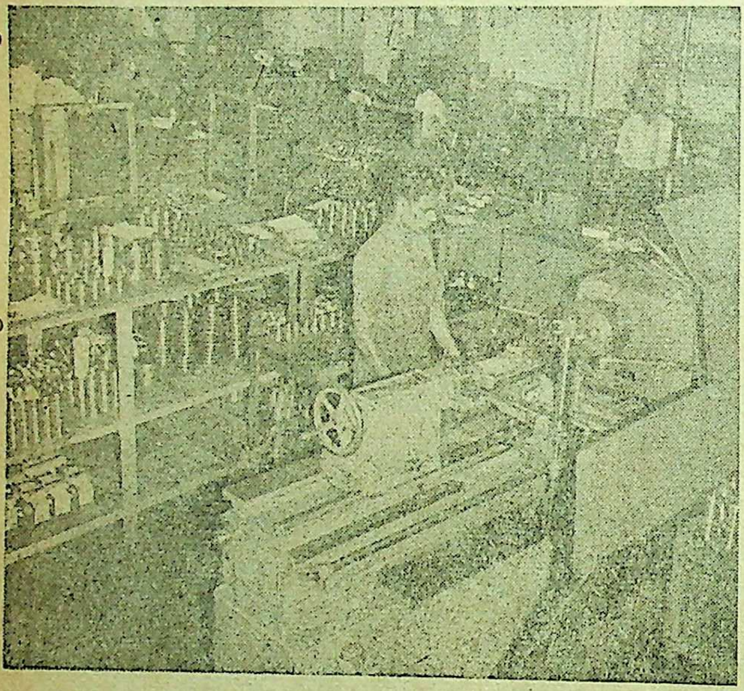
Designers are busy in the Design Office



Lathes Manufactured at the Factory

Some of the Machine Tool parts under Manufacture use of plant, intensive training of labour and judicious diversification of products.

Production is expected to reach 1,000 machines valued at Rs. 3.5 crores annually by the end of the Second Plan (1960-61). The present handicap is inadequate supply of quality castings and iron and steel. The Factory has no foundry of its own. However, construction of a modern foundry, as part of the Factory, is being taken up shortly. With the commissioning of this foundry, production of machine tools could proceed at an accelerated rate. Moreover, iron and steel in the right quantities is expected to be available from Durgapur in the near future. Construction of more assembly hangers to cope with increasing rate of production is also being taken up. A new store shed has already been constructed.



Machine tool parts under production at the Factory

The Government of India has approved a proposal of the HMT to double their capacity from 1,000 machines to 2,000 machines per annum. When it materialises in 1963, it will raise the value of the Factory's annual production to over Rs. 7 crores per year. The capital expenditure of the expansion programme will be Rs. 2.80 crores, of which the foreign exchange component would be approximately Rs. 1.15 crores.

Within seven years of existence the Company has already started making profits. Even after providing for the payment of 4½ per cent interest on the loan of Rs. 1.67 crores which has been made available to the HMT by the Union Government, and after providing a fair return on the share capital (Rs. 5.31 crores) the Company will be able to finance a part of the capital cost of the expansion programme from its internal sources.

Production Costs Lowered

A significant feature of the working of the HMT is that substantial reduction has been achieved in production costs of HMT machines without any lowering of the high quality of the machines. The Company has passed on the benefit of this reduction to the buyer through reduction in sales price. The sale price of 1000 mm. lathe, for example, was first brought down from Rs. 39,000 to Rs. 36,000, and then, from June 1958, to Rs. 29,500. The landed cost of an equivalent machine of equivalent quality is around Rs. 40,000.

This has been achieved despite progressive high prices paid from and steel and inadequate supply of quality castings and two successive increases in wage levels in the last two years, which have more than doubled the minimum earnings of the lowest-paid employees.

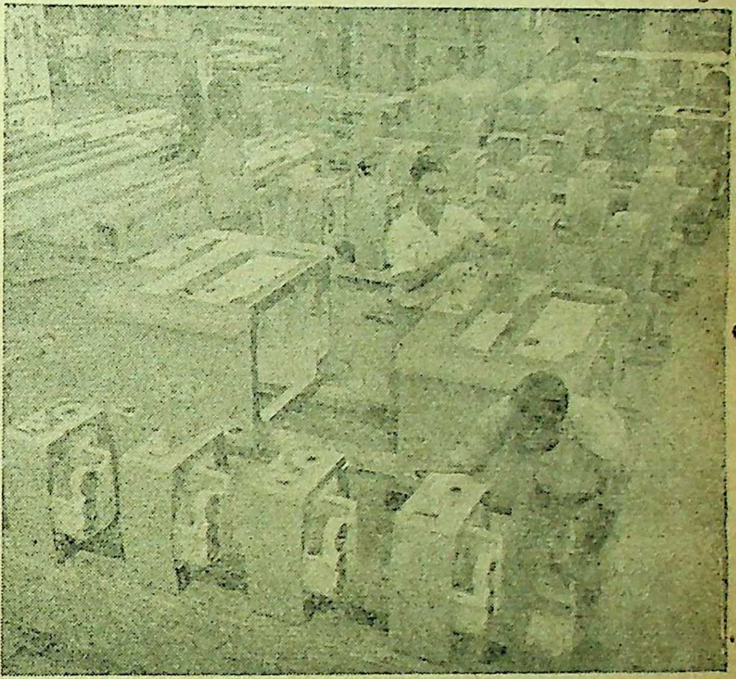
High Indigenous Content

Another interesting development, creditable to the Factory, is that indigenous content in the manufacture of lathes now stands at 95 per cent. For milling machines and radial drills this percentage has come up to 80 per cent now. For the milling machines this is the second year of production, while for the radial drills it is only the first year. Within a year the percentage of indigenous content for both the radial drills and milling machines will be progressively stepped up to 95 per cent.

The quality of Hindustan machines has been maintained at very high levels and customers and experts continue to commend favourably on its quality. The British Heavy Engineering Mission, which visited the Factory in December 1958, reported: "The facts are that India now has a first class machine tool unit in the light medium range and should turn it to the maximum possible use."

A visitor to the Factory senses pride among the workers and management in their neat and clean plant and the quality of the machines turned out. The machines are thoroughly tested at the Factory. There is a Government testing officer at the Factory too. And finally, the customers are given all facilities to test the machines.

There are two other features in which the HMT has pioneered. One is that the former Works' Committee has been converted into a Joint Council of Management since June 1958 with an equal representation for management and labour. It is now a major factor in creating an atmosphere of mutual understanding and partnership as between labour and maagement.


The workers dressing the jackets with excellent finish

The Council has a right to receive information and discuss matters concerning the general economic situation of the Company, methods of work, the balance-sheet and the expansion programmes. It is entrusted, further, with the entire responsibility for administering welfare measures and work schedules. It does not, however, discuss matters relating to wages and bonus which are considered subjects for collective bargaining on a trade union basis.

Secondly, HMT has, in collaboration with the National Small Industries Corporation, pioneered in assisting enterprising workers from its own plant with machine-tools on hire-purchase basis for establishing small ancillary units adjacent to the Factory. The Company has offered power, water facilities and technical guidance and placed orders for its smaller parts and components on the small producers and made technical guidance available to them.

Further, the HMT is contemplating establishment of an industrial estate so that a large number of component parts required in machine tools could be obtained from the units located in the proposed estate.

There has all along been a considerable emphasis on intensive training of HMT workers as a factor in greater productivity. The HMT training centre is now being utilised for training skilled workers and technicians both in the public and private sectors. The HMT continues to manage the centre on behalf of the Government of India which took it over recently.

Workers' Welfare

In terms of workers' welfare, the HMT has a creditable record. Apart from expansion in the number of quarters for all categories of staff—the Factory employs 2,600 workers—it has implemented a number of schemes such as (i) abolition of casual and daily-rated employment, (ii) increase in dearness allowance at a flat rate of Rs. 5 per month up to a salary range of Rs. 100 and Rs. 6 per month up to a salary range of Rs. 100 to Rs. 300 per month, (iii) increase in the employer's contribution to provident fund from 6¼ per cent to 8⅓ per cent, (iv) incentive and production bonus at a flat rate of Rs. 5 with an attendance bonus of Rs. 4 per month, and (v) reduction of transport charges from Rs. 7 to 3.75 per month. These measures have meant an additional expenditure of Rs. 5.39 lakhs to the Company.

The machine tool industry is a 'must' for the industrial growth of a country. It is this industry which in a sense provides a key to the country's industrial growth by enabling it to produce all the plant and machinery needed for its factories. In the absence of a well-planned machine tool industry India had necessarily to depend upon foreign sources for such plant and equipment. This is obvious from the fact that most of the heavy plant and equipment which have gone to build India's industries have been largely obtained from foreign sources.

Judging from the number of import licences granted during the 15 months period, January 1957 to March 1958, India imported over 17,000 machine tools valued at a little over Rs. 19 crores.

Against this, the indigenous production in India during this period amounted to Rs. 3.25 crores (HMT's share being a little over Rs. 1.75 crores during this period). This clearly indicates that the gap is big.

The import statistics further testify the fact that this gap has been increasing very considerably from the year 1951, when India implemented its First Five-Year Plan. At the beginning of the Second Five-Year Plan, the imports almost trebled, while in 1958 they were almost six times compared to 1951 figures.

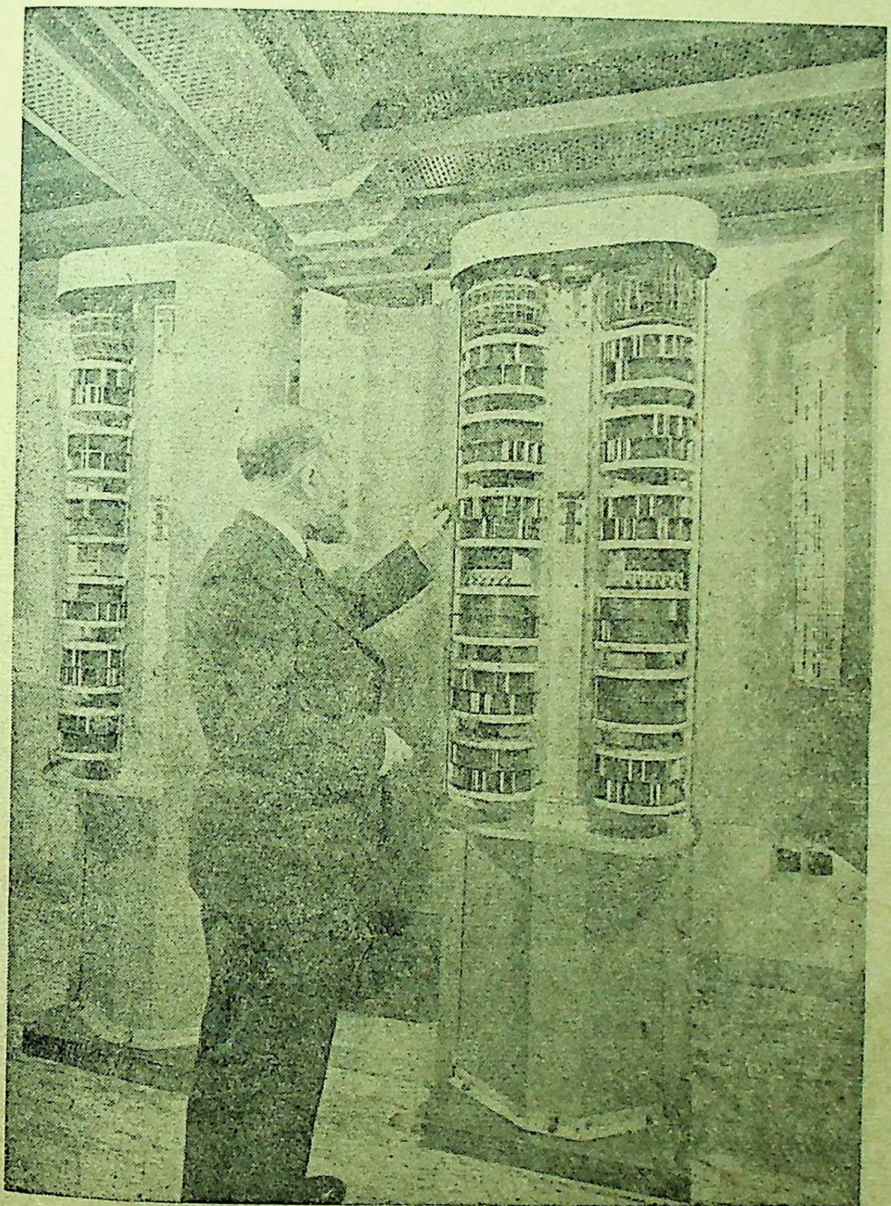
Co-Ordination in Public and Private Sectors

Apart from the urgent need for stepping up production, one other vital question affecting the future of this key industry is adequate understanding and integration between the machine tool units in the private sector and the public sector. This, doubtless, does not appear to have been established from the beginning when the HMT was set up.

This anomaly was rectified by the appointment by the Union Government in early 1956 of the Machine Tool Committee representing both public and private sector industries as well as the consumer interests. This Committee, for the first time attempted to estimate the demand for different categories of machine tools during the Second Plan period and also assessed the capacity of the existing industries. It recommended an integrated plan of development of the industry for the Second Plan period avoiding, as far as possible, overlapping and consequent wastage of productive effort. The Government accepted the recommendations of the Machine Tool Committee. These arrangements appear to have eliminated grounds for disputes and wasteful competition by the different units in the industry.—**PIB.**

"CHARLIE" GETS A NEW COMB

Nowadays it is often a matter of the bigger e job, the smaller the apparatus to do t. And certainly the modest size of "Charlie"—the nickname for the Automatic Programme Switching Unit in Bush House, The Strand, London, headquarters f the BBC External Services—is in startling contrast to the size of the job it has to do. "Charlie" automatically handles the distribution of seventeen or more programme sources to groups of transmitters all over Britain radiating BBC External Service broadcasts throughout the world. Governed by a master-clock linked to the



Automatic Programme Switching Unit

Greenwich Time Signal, "Charlie" carries out complicated programme-changes every quarter-hour, day and night, entirely unattended, for months on end. When programme schedules are changed a "comb" of a new colour is inserted by one of the technical operations staff to indicate each change.

The BBC External Services, comprisi the European and Overseas Services, broa cast in English and thirty-nine othe languages and are on the air for som eighty-two hours a day. The BBC General Overseas Service in English is heard al round the world.—**BBC**

THE INDIAN ROPE TRICK

By P. C. SORCAR, Magician,
President, All-India Magicians' Club

Among the much-talked-of feats of India, the Indian Rope Trick stands alone as the greatest of all.

A good deal of editorial ink has been wasted both in the West and the East on the possibility of "The Indian Rope Trick." Some say that this is India's marvel feat, while, on the contrary, there are sceptics who even deny its possibility. To superficial observers this curious mixture of contradictions leads to the belief that the Rope Trick stories are mere fantasies.

A few years ago we saw in the "London Listner":

"Lord Ampthill, former Governor of Madras, one time acting Viceroy of India, will preside tomorrow evening over one of the queerest meetings held in London.

"It is to investigate the evidence of the mysterious Indian Rope Trick. Magicians, Hypnotists and professional conjurors will rub shoulders at the Oxford Theatre, Marylebonne Road, with English and Indian dignitaries bearing world-famous names.

"The meeting has been summoned by one of the most eminent British Opthalmic Surgeons, Lieut. Colonel R. H. Elliot, formerly of the Indian Medical Service. He is Chairman of the Occult Committee of the Magic Circle, London."

After one day we again found in the "Listener": "Any modern magician who will come forward and perform the Indian Rope Trick before the Occult Committ of the Magic Circle will receive an awa of 500 guineas . . . We might have ma the offer 5,000 or 50,000 guineas, for a chance there is yet of its being claimed

Brief speeches followed from Dr. Edw Smith and from Sir Michael O'Dwyer, w said that he had never seen the trick d ing his 35 years in India; Sir Leona Rogers, Sir Francis Griffiths and seve others, none of whom either believed in trick, had seen it or had met anyone w had done so . . . .

With the unanimous verdict 'N Proven' the meeting closed."

Lt.-Col. R. H. Elliot is of opinion th "The Great Rope Trick is a myth. It ne has been performed and never it will It sprang Minerva-like, from the brain an inventor of jovine proportions a Goddess-like it has lived on far too long

But is it really a 'myth'? Has it ne been done or never will it be? Is there eyewitness of the trick at all to prove existence?

If we make a historical survey of trick we find that over a thousand ye ago the trick was a common knowledge India. The doctor of the Vedanta Ph sophy, Sankaracharyya has referred to feat in Sutra 17 of the Vedanta Su There we find an explanation of this too in a round-about way . . . "The illus juggler who climbs up the rope and appears differs from the real juggler who stands on the ground, etc., . . ." So far as I can remember, Patanjali also mentions it in his Sutras.

Next reference comes from China, from the Volume of Travels written by a traveller Ibn Batutah (Abu Abdullah Mahammad of Tanjiers) an Arab or Moorish Sheik, who journeyed through the East in the first part of the fourteenth century. He saw it in an entertainment at Hangchow.

Ibn Batuta, the famous traveller of the 14th Century, witnessed Rope Trick in China. The following translation is from Yue's Marco Polo:

"That same night a juggler made his appearance and the Amir said to him 'come and show us some of your marvels.' Upon this he took a wooden ball with several holes in it, through which long thongs were passed and, laying hold one of those slung it into the air. It went so high that we lost sight of it altogether. There now remained only a little of the end of a thong in the Conjuror's hand, and he desired one of the boys who assisted him to mount. He did so climbing by the thong and we lost sight of him. The conjuror then called to him but getting no answer, he snatched up a knife, laid hold of the thong and disappeared also. By and by he threw down one of the boy's hands, then a foot, then the other hand and foot, then the trunk, last of all head! Then he came down himself, all puffing and panting and with clothes all bloody, kissed the ground before the Amir, said something in Chinese. He then took the lad's limbs, laid them together and gave a kick when, presto! the boy got up and stood before us. All this astonished me beyond measure and I had an attack of palpitation like that which overcame me once before in the presence of the Sultan of India, when he showed me something of the same kind. They gave me a cordial however, which cured the attack. The Kazi Afkharuddin was next to me, and quoth he, 'Allah!' it is my opinion there has been neither going up nor coming down neither marring nor amending: 'it is all hocus-pocus'."

Then comes the description of the Rope Trick in India in the beginning of the seventeenth century, at Delhi, performed by a Bengali Magician before Emperor Jehangir. We get an account in the "Memoirs of the Emperor Jehangir" written by himself and translated from a Persian manuscript by Major David Price, Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

In a London Newspaper "Morning Post" Sir Ralph Pearson, formerly Lieutenant Governor of the Noth-West Frontier Province claims to have seen the trick carried out at Dondachia station on the then recently constructed Tapti Valley Railway in the west Khandesh District of the Bombay Presidency. This was in the spring of 1900. The writer describes how he happened to look out of his compartment window on hearing a man shouting and saw the usual village juggler, with snake baskets and a small lad for the edification of some passengers in the next compartment.

"After the necessary shouting and beating of his legs and chest, he threw up the rope some ten feet in the air, after which the boy swarmed to nearly the top." Sir Ralph Pearson remarks however in his letter that another man then shouted down the platform and beat a drum which made him look round. On turning back again he found the boy on the ground as also the rope. The only other details he recalls about it were that the rope was frayed at the top and when in the air was by no means taut, even when the boy was climbing up it. He mentions that his wife told him also sometime later that she had seen the trick done at another wayside station further down the same line.

Mr. V. Rebiers of Kirkee has also an interesting account: ". . . I did see the rope trick performed in the Portuguese Territory of Damann near Bombay . . . I watched the performance carefully and saw a fairly thin rope thrown up; the lid of an oblong basket lying near was then thrown open and a boy of about 10 or 12 darted from the basket up the rope and disappeared . . ."

Again we have from the "Morning Post" of 26-1-32 that Mrs. Pennel Williamson has seen this trick performed in the year, 1907-8, at Mussorie.

From "Daily Telegraph" (16-6-32) we find that Mr. Prowse saw the trick performed in Secunderabad in 1915. His wife, Mrs. Prowse, had seen the same trick done in Ceylon years before.

Another European writes from Warangal in the "Times of India," 18-4-34: ". . . I was at that time in the military and stationed in one of the cantonments in the U.P. some 20 years back. One day one of the jugglers came along with his paraphernalia. During his performance he threw a thick rope in the air which stood erect without any visible sign of support; then a lad naked with the exception of a loin cloth climbed to the top of the rope and disappeared into thin air. After a few minutes he reappeared amongst the crowd.

"I am neither superstitious nor a believer in myths and I am ready to swear that this very clever trick was performed before my eyes . . ."

Arthur Young writes from Kolhapur on 21-4-34: ". . . I have myself seen this trick performed in Assam . . ."

Colonel H. Cornes saw the trick performed in Bombay Bazar.

"Chicago Tribune" prints an interesting account of this feat, seen by two American tourists in Northern India. In the book "Here, There and Everywhere" (Hodder and Stoughton, 1921, pages 51 to 53) Lord Frederic Hamilton relates the experience as told by Colonel Barnard. When Chief of Police in Calcutta, the Colonel had been invited with a subordinate officer to witness the feat. They saw the rope ascending, the boy climbing, the man after him but their camera revealed that these events had not occurred.

The "Statesman" of 19th June, 1934 contains a reference in which it is stated: "I believe Sir John Lambert, when Commissioner of Police at Calcutta, placed it on record that he had seen this trick performed in India. Also some other persons, whose names I forget for the moment, but whose positions I well remember, entitled them to be heard with respect. That this trick is still performed, at times, in other countries is borne out by the letter of Ewan upward . . ."

The following extract from a paper Maxim Gorki, by Prof. Nicholas Roeri published in the "Twentieth Century" re produced in the "Statesman," Calcutta, Oct. 5, 1936 is very interesting:

". . . I also recollect how once at friendly gathering Gorki revealed qu unexpectedly for many another interesti side of his character. We spoke ab Yogis and various psychic phenomena wh home is in India. Some of the gue suspiciously looked at Gorki who k silent and they apparently awaited severe criticism. But his resume amaz many."

Kindled with an inner radiance he sa "The Hindus are a great people. I w tell you of my personal experience. O in the Caucasus I met a Hindu about wh many remarkable stories were circulati At that time I was rather inclined to dou At last we met and what I will tell yo saw with my own eyes. He took a l thread and threw it up into the air. A to my surprise it remained hanging up the air."

So Gorki was contemporary witness the much-talked-of Rope Trick or to more accurate, to a part of the fam trick. The account of the brass album, given by Gorki, is no less interesting cause I doubt whether Magicians of Eur and America can ever do it! From above (and from many other sim examples) it is clear that the Indian R Trick has been done in different count in different forms. It was then perfor by roadside jugglers, who generally gat ed their crowd by showing a number petty sleight of hand tricks. When t felt they had got sufficient number spectators, they started this feat.

In volumes 28 of the "Magic Circu (June 1934) we find a chapter under very dogmatic heading Exit—The In Rope Trick. Lt. Col. R. H. Elliot, Chair of the Occult Committee of the M Circle is of opinion that "It has never b done or never it will be." Many res able gentlemen have, however, volun ed to prove its existence stating that they have actually seen it performed. But Col. Elliot rejects the testimony of all these eye-witnesses on the ground that (i) In all similar cases of abnormal phenomena the witnesses are "victims of trickery and deception." But my point is this—how can a man become a victim, until and unless he sees something of this sort actually "done." But Lt. Col. R. H. Elliot says that "the trick has never been 'done'". He cannot have the same thing both ways. Moreover, the Indian Rope Trick is a Trick —so it is nothing uncommon if there be any "trickery" in it. I turned my dictionary (Concise Oxford Dictionary, New Edition) to refresh my memory as to the precise meaning of the word "trick". My dictionary gives as the first two meanings: "Fraudulent device or stratagem, feats of skill or dexterity, knack, precise mode of doing or dealing with a thing." Many other shades of meaning are given, but nothing which lends the least colour to Colonel Elliot's curious insistance that the word "trick" implies something supernormal. On the contrary, it implies the very opposite. I am sure that it is a very clever trick and admits of a very simple explanation. It is not a "miracle". A trick is a trick so long as it is considered not to be a miracle but the Indian Rope Trick has been so bolstered up and misrepresented by the exaggerated accounts of unreliable and notoriety-hunting travellers that it has lost its real character and those who hear and read about it expect far more than it is possible for any human creature to perform. (ii) The trick "upsets all the laws of gravity." My reply to this is that we must "deal with the first thing first." First of all, we must prove whether the rope trick is a "fact" or a "myth"—then we should discuss how the roadside juggler upsets the Laws of Gravitation. Col. Elliot has referred to "defying the force of gravity" in all his letters. But what does he mean by it fundamentally? Should readers understand that a ladder "defies" the force of gravity when it keeps the weight of a man when he is climbing it, as it prevents the man from falling to the ground? And is the surface of the Earth defying the force of gravity as it keeps him from sinking through it to what is below?

Col. Elliot tells us that the Rope Trick, or a 'belief' in the trick "implies the temporary suspension of the law which not merely determines the fall of an apple and the swing of the earth's vast oceans, but reaching far out into space enables us to weigh stars whose colossal distance can only be calculated in imaginable light years." Answer to this is that we should first of all settle the question as to whether the Rope Trick is a fact or not. "Miracles," as all theologians from St. Augustine onwards have said, "do not happen in contradiction to nature, they only transcend what is at present known to us of nature." The Indian Rope Trick is not a "miracle," it is only a clever trick and it admits of a quite simple explanation.

"Times of India," 19th May, 1934 states "A man who has actually seen the Indian Rope Trick performed has at last been found. He is Dr. Alexander Cannon, a psychiatrist, who described his experience in Indo-China at a London meeting of the British College of Psychic Science. Dr. Cannon said he was accompanied by a member of the French Consulate in Indo-China: "This is what we saw or thought we saw" said Dr. Cannon: "The scene is a market-place. In the centre of the place stands an ascetic, his eyes half open. He stands swaying his arms, gesticulating and uttering yogi incantations, meanwhile swaying gently to rhythm. In front of him is a coil of red-coloured rope lying on the ground. Over this he stretches out his hands periodically. On his right hand-side stands a youth who has a most noticeable far away expression in his eyes. At last the ascetic lifts up the end of the red rope and holds it at arm's length. The end of the rope then appears to rise higher and higher as if drawn heavenwards by an invisible force. This process continues until the other end of the rope is just free of the ground. The boy then climbs the rope remaining at the other end in midair. He comes down to the ground and then again climbs the rope and the yogi appears to follow him up the rope with a knife clenched in his teeth. He gets hold of the boy, cuts him to pieces and appears to drop the different parts of the body to the ground where they lie quivering in the dust. The magician then descends the rope, puts the pieces of the body together and sends the youth up the rope again right to the top when he appears to vanish into thin air."

Now among those who actually claim to have solved the Indian Rope Trick, I should mention the name of Dr. Alexander Cannon, K. C. A., M.D., Ph.D., M.A., an official of the London County Council Mental Hospital Service, first. Dr. Cannon says that he has actually seen the Rope Trick performed and can actually do it. "I can produce the Rope Trick in the Albert Hall, London......I shall require a large quantity of sand from a certain area, certain lighting, as it were from the sun, certain heating arrangements, and, under these circumstances, everyone can see the phenomenon."

A number of magicians in England wanted to see the trick done by Dr. Cannon, and, their willingness to help him in procuring the right conditions at the Albert Hall. To this offer Dr. Alexander Cannon said: "Providing you are willing to lay down enough money to bring over a shipload of special sand, to heat up the Albert Hall to tropical temperature, and to produce my own tropical lighting—and also to place with a bank £50,000 (250,000 dollars) to be handed over to me as soon as I have produced the phenomenon, I will do it."

After this the matter was dropped.

Among others who claim to have solved the Rope Trick the name of "Karachi"* is mentionable. In the 'Listener' (London) of 30th January, 1935, Karachi states: "The secret of this trick I learnt many years ago from a Gurkha warrior, whose life I had been the means of saving. On his death-bed shortly after, he imparted to me the secret of this trick, at the same time adding his dying injunction that I should not perform it in public for profit except when driven to it by necessity. It is for this reason that the trick has not been performed for so many years, but now the time has come when I find it necessary to demonstrate its reality and convince a sceptical world that the secrets of the East have not entirely perished."

The way is now clear for our star witness. Horace Goldin the reputed president of London Magicians' club has himself stated that he has not only seen the trick but he has actually learnt it during his professional tour to India and the Far East. Horace Goldin has sent me one of his printed booklets in which he has frankly confessed that he is "the only white man in the world to discover the secret."

I have then had a press clipping from "Daily Sketch" dated October 21 1936 which states, "Indian Rope Trick Done At Last. At last—The Indian Rope Trick, which has been described by countless retired Anglo-Indians to sceptical English listeners, has been done in England by Mr. Horace Goldin, President of the Magicians' Club."

Well, that was definitely the stage-version of this world-famous item. Many stage-magicians have capitalized on the goodwill of the trick by offering the stage versions and immensely publicising the same. Servais LeRoy, Horace Goldin, Howard Thurston, Harry Blackstone, David Devant, Chang, Dante and Virgil are only a few of the magicians who have successfully done it in their stage shows.

Past President of the Society of American Magicians, my good friend, Milbourne Christopher in his article on "The Truth about the Rope Trick" in the Variety Magazine, January 5, 1955, gave a very funny description of one such stage magician, "a few years ago a Canadian magician announced he would present the feat during a stage performance with all the classic trimmings. His rope rose on schedule, his assistant climbed the rope and he climbed after his assistant. Soon the stage was littered with pieces of anatomy, which dropped from above. The magician slid back down the rope, wiped the blade of his sword and gathered the pieces of his helper's body in a wicker basket. Hocus pocus, the boy jumped out intact. But instead of gasping with amazement, the audience howled with laughter. The magician was puzzled until he saw an extra arm, which he had forgotten to toss into the basket, on the side of the stage."

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*'Karachi' is not an Indian. It is the stage name of Arthur Claude Derby of Plymouth, his son's stage name being 'Kyder.'

Joseph Dunninger, American magician and mind reader who has long served on a national committee to debunk fakers, popped into print with an offer to do the Indian rope trick in Madison Square Garden for only $50.

However, when the News asked Dunninger to perform the trick in one of the News offices or on the roof of The News Building he declined with a laugh.

Instead, he offered to give $10,000 to **anybody** who could do that trick on the roof or even in the open.

'The only place I can do the rope trick —and have done it is on a stage with backdrops. That preserves the illusion. At the Garden ? Well, a stage could be thrown up there quickly enough.'

'There are thirty-five different methods of creating the illusion of the rope trick. Many of them are impossible. There was one described in Science and Invention. It told of a rope which, when thrown into the air, stood rigid because of interlocking metal sockets within its coils. At the time the climber is to disappear a chemical in his hand belches forth smoke and a mechanism in the bottom end of the rope causes the upright coil to collapse. It's an idea—but it's not practical" Dunninger explains.

Richard Hodgson, L.L.D., wrote in the early 90's:

'I sought in vain for an eye-witness, European or native of the famous rope exploit of which we have heard so much in travellers' tales. About three years ago a story spread that this supposed trick was explicable by hypnotism, it was alleged that certain travellers proved this by means of a camera—that the cameraman saw the trick but that the pictures showed no scenes of taut rope, disappearing boy, etc. The story turned out, by confession of its author, to be a yarn.'

But Hereward Carrington, American spiritualist, feels that those who saw the trick might have been having an hallucination.

Fortunately—or perhaps unfortunately—none of these men was able to witness Robert Heger's efforts to do the trick on the stage of a St. Paul auditorium last November. The first night he did it all went well. But the second time!

In response to Heger's incantations the rope jerked from its coiled position into a straight vertical line. But the electricians turned on the wrong lights and the audience plainly saw the thin wire from which it was suspended. Next the boy pursued by the assassin, climbed the rope with no trouble.

But instead of vanishing into thin air the audience had the pleasure of seeing him leap away—because the stage hands bungled the curtain drop. They probably saw Heger's visible perspiration if they looked.

And last—and worst of all—before the game Heger finished up his act—before he had assembled all the arms and legs and feet and hands and head—the boy stepped out from the wings—too soon, too soon!

Maskelyne, a professional conjuror, says that the trick is frequently done in the open with the audience facing the brilliant tropical sun. When it was suggested that an illusion be done at an English exhibition, Maskelyne objected on the ground that the English sun was not powerful enough to obscure vision.

Noted American Magician-author, Walter B. Gibson, in his "Book of Secrets" (1927) writes:

"It is impossible to find a person who claims to have seen the 'Rope Trick'. There are those who know someone who saw it, or who have heard of some one who saw it; but actual witnesses are usually lacking.

The writer, however, has met three people who have described the trick as they have seen it themselves. They are all reliable persons—travellers of wide experience. One of them has studied magic for many years, and his description of the trick supports a theory that the trick has been performed, but that its effect has been exaggerated.

He states that the rope rose about fifteen feet in the air, moving upward very slowly. Instead of a boy, a small monkey climbed the rope and stood on the top. Then the rope fell, and the monkey dropped with it.

The rope used in the trick was of most peculiar construction, and the witness had an opportunity to examine it. It consisted of sections which could be made rigid or released by interior cords. The rope was coiled, and the fakir had an underground assistant who pushed up the rope, the joints being fixed together as the rope rose. When the monkey had ascended the rope, the master cord was pulled, and the rope collapsed, coiling as it fell to the ground."

World-famous American Magician and Magic historian, John Mulholland, in his article on The Great Rope Trick Mystery in "This Week" magazine (April 6, 1958) of the Pittsburgh Press writes:

"After 40 years of trailing the Indian rope trick, I have finally found what I was looking for; the reasons why the legend refuses to die.

"One answer is that after people have been fooled, they are incapable of giving an accurate description of what actually happened during a magician's performance. Given time, their descriptions often become fantastic. They confuse two or more tricks, and even describe something the magician hasn't done—and couldn't do.

"In co-operation with a professor of psychology I once made a series of tests on graduate students who didn't suspect what we were trying to discover. I actually did four tricks and described one which I did not perform: I talked about being able to make a $20 gold piece travel instantly and invisibly a distance of five feet.

"A month after my 'Show', the class was called together and asked to write a resume of the magic they had seen me perform. Eighty per cent 'saw' the gold piece which I had only mentioned.

"I am convinced now that the process by which people come to believe in the Indian rope trick is akin to brain-washing. I am also convinced that it will continue to fascinate each new generation born on earth. It's a towering legend, tough to chop down."

During my visits to U.S.A. I had long discussions about this trick with John Mulholland. I told him that 'such a trick is no longer possible, but that it once was. Modern man has lost the secret'.

This trick can easily be done on the stage where everything can be done with 'wires and mirrors'. All my predecessors as also my contemporaries who performed or still perform versions of the Indian Rope Trick on their theatrical stages done with common secrets. Will Goldston has done it in the Black Art scene. Harry Blackstone while gave me details of his version of the Rope Trick showed great ingenuity in the constructions of the stage settings. Howard Thurston in addition to pulling the thick Rope by invisible wires took help of cinematography and slide projections in the matter of the vanishment of the climbing lad. My friend the Great Virgil has taken wire principle for raising the thick rope upward then semi Black Art principle for making the boy disappear. I have seen Julian J. Pablo (Mighty Chang), Cecil Lyle (Great Lyle) and countless others performing the trick in the similar manner. Even Horace Goldin did it in the same principle. Karachi (Arthur Claude Derby) and the German magician performs in such a way that a stiff rope goes upward for a few feet and they cannot make the boy disappear in full view. Instead of being pulled from top in the above a stiff rope is pushed upwards from underneath. In the opinion of Mr. Nevil Maskelyne of England, Indian Rope Trick was done in India with "jointed bamboos covered with hemp" and "the glare of the sun dazzling the eyes" to assist in the operation.

Twenty-five years ago, early in my

career, I performed versions of the Rope Trick in the open field. I adopted the principle of the prepared rope, which could be recoiled and made to make stiff at will. Thanks to the bone-filled rope with the many special sockets inside. I performed this on the pavements of Chowringhee, Calcutta, and to make the place easily recognisable in front of The Statesman House, Calcutta. I got full-page publicity in the India's popularmost English daily "Amrita Bazar Patrika"; and many full-pages photographs of this trick in various stages of performances were published in the January 1937 issue of the "Modern Review." Some of these pictures were printed in the 'Orient' Illustrated Weekly Magazine. (April 23, 1944).

On the stage platform this item can very easily be done, as it has been done by other magicians. It is extremely difficult to produce this trick outdoors. I think Indian Rope Trick can be performed outdoors, at least the mystery can be solved to show how the Indian street jugglers performed it hundred years ago. This Trick was possible at that time but now it is very difficult and wellneigh impossible to do before the 'ultra modern' twentieth century audience.

If we track back into history we find that this trick was performed in India hundreds of years ago. At that time 'invisible thread,' electricity, etc., were not known. People were very much gullible. The best feats were the Mango Tree, Basket Trick, Cups and balls, diving ducks, levitation, etc. These all have stood the tests of time and has survived. Today to the modern theatre-goers these above-mentioned tricks are not so very appealing. They expect more glamour, colour, various appeals. Recently I performed the famous Oyster Shell Illusion invented and made famous by Chung Ling Soo in the early part of the present century. Chung Ling Soo used to show one huge empty oyster shell on the stage and from the same one living girl materialised. Now after about fifty years I have produced the same effect with the same trickery. But I had to use special 'sciopticon' effects-projector to show the under sea waves with shoals of fish swimming, change over to the sea-weeds and corals with the help of the gauze screens 'scrims' and then dissolved into gorgeous under sea-hue by ultra-violet lightings and fluroscent colourings. All these scientific are very recent inventions and these were like day-dreams at the time of Chung Ling Soo. Chung Ling Soo could easily fill his theatre without these special trimmings and settings, we modern magicians must go steps further to satisfy our modern spectators. They have seen Radio-Television programmes, big musicals, spectacular cinemascope—cinerama productions, it is hard to get their eyes bewildered by ordinary hocus pocus tricks. If we consider the time, place and situations of the early performers, we will find that this trick was performed usually in hilly area and not in the desert country. So the Fakirs used to wear log flowing garments. In Indian sub-continent those who live in hot spots the inhabitants wear very scanty dress and thus the performer looks with loin cloths on. But in the hilly regions they wear 'loongi and askans', the flowing garments. The boy should be on loin cloths with one 'fatua' singlet on. They chose their site of performances by the side of two high hills or other lofty places. The secret was a horizontal thread stretching from one hill to another caught by two assistants at the either side. At that time invisible thread were not invented nor even the piano wires introduced. The Indian Fakirs made their invisible wires with the help of human hairs specially prepared. They could use catgut ropes on either ends because those portions are far off from the spectators. Time selected was evening before dusk. After showing several tricks and thus killing a good length of time, placing the spectators in magic mood already, and the dusk approaching the magician starts his Rope Trick. With the sound of weird Indian music associated with the Jaduwallahs, sound of tom toms, dholok, etc., the Rope Trick is started. Magician shows a coil of rope woven with soft cotton thread prepared by 'charka'—the spinning wheel now made famous by Mahatma Gandhi. This rope is about forty feet long and has leaden weight with a knot at the extreme end. Magician throws the rope several times unsuccessfully, to create misdirection and then at a proper time throws the rope up in such a way that the end of the coil of rope engages with the horizontal suspension. They may add some small gimmicks to help this engagement with the horizontal cable. Now a days when we go to the villages and find the electric or telegraphic wirings across the country sides we find these wires are quite invisible to our eyes when they are against green background, say the trees and hills. So, the spectators cannot see the horizontal wire. Moreover, at those ages there were no such wiring systems to give them some sort of ideas. Human psychology is that a hole should be round, for pulling anything upward the tention must be vertical from the top. Even in these days of mechanisation people are wondered when they find a Ball floating in the air, or a Card suspended in the air, hat or handkerchief dancing on the stage, because they are not suspended from the top. We moderns even today perform it with horizontal support, while the audience always suspect or expect the vertical. The same was true in the case of those street magicians. Through the code of their weird music, the assistants from the two top rocky knolls start pulling their catgut rope-ends from either sides, just as we do for our Floating Ball or Dancing Handkerchiefs these days. The rope goes up and up. When it reaches about thirty feet or so, people think that it has gone up to the sky. In India they have not seen the sky-scrapers and all the dwelling places are not very high. To the eyes of the ordinary audience the rope seems to rise up and up to the sky defying the force of gravity. So the first part of the Indian Rope Trick is successfully done in the open field.

Now about the second part. One very small boy climb up the vertical rope, hand by hand and goes to the top of the rope and there he firmly engages his gimmick with the horizontal wire. Because after a little by-play the Magician will also climb up with the sharp knife between his teeth. Words of abuse, shouts, murmuring, etc., are the well-known by-plays of the Indian Street magicians. They can easily misdirect their spectators through these. The magician goes up and up. As a rule these magicians and their boys are good circus players, at least rope climbers. When the magician goes up and reaches the boy, he throws parts of the boy's costume (similar costumes) smeared with blood (blood like colours) or some freshly butchered meat, may be part of goat, or monkey, one by one to the ground. The assistants starts picking them all up with very nice by-plays and acting. Where is the left arm Ostad?—and talks like that. The boy in the meantime takes shelter underneath the flowing garments of the magician. Magician is now free because all the pieces of cloth and meat he carried under cover of his costumes have been dropped down and the same place has been occupied by the young boy. The boy clings to the performer, just like the young monkeys do to their mother. More by-play and acting the magician climbs down thoroughly exhausted. The assistants have in the meantime collected the dismembered parts of the boy's body, including the missing parts that dropped here and there. The head was covered with the part of boy's turban all smeared with fresh blood. The magician comes near the basket into which the cut pieces of the boy was placed. More acting, more by-play and more misdirection, the boy slips out and enters the basket. Just as they do in the traditional basket trick. It is not difficult even for the moderners to perform the rest of it. At command the boy jumps out of the basket quite hale and hearty to receive 'baksheesh' prizes from his admiring spectators. By this time it is more dark. Ordinary naked lamps, mashals or kerosene or other oil lamps could not get the spot flood lighted. At signal the long rope falls limp to the ground, thanks to the two assistants on the two lofty places, they simply untie their ends. Sometimes the story of fight between Indra, the King of

Heavens and his fight with the demons is alleged to be told. Rightly at that time they do enough incense burning, bonfire in the name of 'Homa' or 'Yajna' thus obscurity of vision is created by the smokes. In hilly regions due to cold atmosphere smoke does not go very high up because air is heavy and thus foggy atmosphere is created to facilitate the successful performance before the audience. In those days very ordinary tricks of the street magicians and medicine men were regarded as big feats of magic. To turn a silver rupee into a Gold Muhar was a very great feat, but today even school boys ignore it as mere trick of palming and passing. So the great Indian Rope Trick is not a myth. It was done outdoors by the street magicians. It was a great feat during those days. Added to it has been its legendary fame. Facts die but legends survive. It was feat of ordinary commonplace trickery, the name being 'Indian Rope Trick'. There were many limitations for these performances and required many persons for its successful operation. Income was not enough for the whole team, so they divided and formed their own smaller troupes. Slowly, the trick went out of fashion, out of repertoire. The question as to whether one person can be kept suspended with one wire can easily be answered. Do we not suspend full-sized ladies with one strand of No. 18 piano wire in the Amac Style Find the Lady Tricks? Do we not suspend girls with such wires in the Lady Levitation trick even nowadays? What about Kellar's Levitated Princess done with not only one wire, but many very very fine wires. Can't we adapt the same principle in this illusion also?

However, the great mystery is not a myth, the riddle is solved.*

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*This thesis on the Indian Rope Trick has been prepared in reply to an enquiry made by "Selskabet for Psykisk Forskning" (The Danish Society for Psychical Research), Copenhagen, Denmark and the Institute of Para-Psychology, Sri Ganganagar, Rajasthan.

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WOMEN AS TEACHERS

By SANTOSH KUMAR BANERJEE

Even after achieving independence 12 years ago the percentage of literacy in our country is still very low in comparison with other free countries of the world. In order to raise this percentage we are to improve the existing condition of education imparted to children at the very primary stages. In Western countries there are more women teachers in the beginners' classes than the male teachers. The reason is that women are more fond of little children with whom they are closely associated as sisters and mothers in their domestic environments. In order to provide better standard of education to our children we should also employ more and more women teachers in our schools. At present in our country women teachers are mainly engaged in girls' schools. In boys' schools generally male teachers are found to take classes of little boys, who are very often afraid of such teachers instead of loving them. The women teachers are more affectionate to the children and naturally they can win the hearts of children, who are placed under their charge for getting lessons. Over and above these an average girl teacher is more serious in her duties of teaching than a male teacher. So far as adult education is concerned in every locality, in a village or a town, suitably qualified girls are easily found, who can come forward to undertake this great task of increasing the percentage of literacy in our country more with the idea of rendering social service than with the object of earning money.

In spite of our First and Second Five-

Year Plans we have not been able to employ an appreciably large number of educated young men and women. For men even in the existing fields of employment, which are becoming more and more overcrowded, there are certain jobs for which they are only suitable due to their physical strength, but for educated women the profession of teaching is perhaps the only profession, which is most suitable due to their inherent love for children. The economic condition of the middle class and the existing dowry system somehow compel the girls to earn their livelihood and to supplement the income of the families they belong to. They, however, find it difficult to secure employments as they swell the number of job-hunters, the majority of whom are men and who are already facing impossibility in finding suitable jobs. Therefore if the profession of teaching, which is eminently suitable for women, specially for junior classes of both boys and girls, is set apart mainly for educated women, the problem of providing jobs to women on completion of their education, can be solved to a great extent.

For the posts of teachers the girls of course require some special training and instead of a Degree course (B.T.) for training in teaching under modern methods, a special course of training can be arranged for the would-be teachers. Understanding of children's psychology and cultivating love for children can be taught in this course along with other kindred subjects. Those girls, who will come out successful after such a training course, say of one year's duration, can be attracted to the profession of teaching if they are offered a reasonably good scale of pay. Women teachers possessing love for children and a liking for the profession are sure to be successful in creating a true desire for knowledge in the minds of the little boys and girls placed under their charge. Some of these boys and girls can one day h very high positions in society or in polit for turning the wheel of destiny of nation and therefore the role of the women teachers is no doubt very great far as their power of producing the rig type of future citizens in the country concerned.

As regards adult education, educated women in our country can do lot of work for the spread of litera amongest the unfortunate grown-up pe sons. There are many educated wome who can spare their liesure hours witho expecting any remuneration, for organis classes, even once a week or on holida in which illiterate persons of the locali both men and women, can assemble to ta elementary lessons in reading and writi from them. Along with the learning alphabets if these men and women are t the stories of the country's glorious pa history and are kept informed in sim language about the modern developme that are taking place in our country different spheres, it will generate in th minds a real love for knowledge, wh will gradually remove from them stigma of illiteracy.

The middle class women in our coun are trying their utmost to utilise th education for earning their livelihood a they will assist the country's educatio advancement to a considerable extent they are given proper opportunities. Wh the women in Western countries ha proved their efficiency as teachers a have considerably assisted in sending from their schools more and more boys a girls fit for holding high positions in country's administration, there is no re why in our country educated women not be able to show equal success teachers if given similar encourageme and opportunities.

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A FEW ANECDOTES ABOUT KAMRUPA-KAMAKHYA

By SUDHANSU MOHAN BANERJEE, M.A., LL.B., I.A.A.S. (Retd.)

Assam may have been known upto now to the outside world as a land of jungles and tea gardens, of mighty "rhinos and wild elephants, of the gushing oil wells, rushing rivers, of violent earthquakes and raging tornadoes, of dancing Lushais and hunting Nagas, but big chunk of it, known as Kamrupa has also evoked many and old wife's tale of absorbing interest.

From the days of dim antiquity it came to be known as the land of black magic and witchcraft. It leapt into fame more and more as its daughters attained the notoriety of vamps and sorceresses. They attained an uncanny aura not equalled by others. Do not go to Kamrupa-Kamakhya was the slogan. You would be enslaved by Circes. These wily women were not only shapely coquettes but possessed supernatural power. They could turn humans into animals. Fiery males would be turned into innocent lambs. Trees would be made to run and become carrier vehicles. They could twist and turn men. They were ever young, ever green and ever free. They were under the protecting wings of the great Goddess Kamakhya.

Tradition has it that when Muktapida Lalitaditya of Kashmir organised a military expedition against Kamrupa and attacked Pragjyotishpura, his soldiers came into contact with the principality of the Amazons nearby, ruled exclusively by womenfolk, and soon the conquerors became conquered. According to the 'Rajtarangini' another king, named Maghavahana, came from the distant Kashmir to attend the 'Swayambara' of Amritaprabha, a Kamrup princess. We hear of the Kamrup girl Rajyamati whose name is enshrined in a Licchavi inscription of Nepal. Dandi's "Dasa Kumar Charita" speaks of an exquisitely beautiful Kamrupa girl, Kalpasundari. Again, history has it that when after the debacle which Mirjumla suffered in his attempted conquest of Assam, Aurangzib ordered Ram Singh, son of Jai Singh, to organise a fresh expedition against Assam, indirectly as a punishment as he was in disfavour of the Imperial Court for his alleged complicity with the flight of Sivaji from the Mogul clutches, Ram Singh brought with him the Sikh Guru Teg Bahadur and five other holy men so that they could counteract the malign influence of the Kamrupa damsels on the body and mind of his soldiers and restore their mental equilibrium by equally potent incantations and amulets.

But here was a land of contrast where diverse races, castes and creeds had met at different levels of civilization in different ages. Here each has brought its own in a common pool behind which lurk traditions of race memories. Even Nature joins in the diversity which is amazing. The first consolidation began in the Brahmaputra Valley, the rich alluvial tracts of which attracted newcomers. In Assam the first arrivals were probably the Austrics, whose representatives are the present-day Khasis, Morans and Jaintias. Bihu and Nong-Kreim songs and dances are the relics of an old austric tradition. Added to this, the matrilineal structure of society in the early evolution of the family in a socio-biological group is a great pointer to the women as the dominant partner who ruled and enslaved. Negroids, Kirats and Bodos apparently came subsequently. Some say that Bodos, i.e., the Mongoloids of Tibeto-Burma origin were the founders of Kamrupa. They even go so far as to claim that they were the first to introduce phallic worship which was ultimately absorbed in the Hindu thought and theology. The peculiar idea was, to quote Shri R. M. Nath, that "earth was likened to a women, she was the mother earth, and the country was also a woman" and it was thought that all the body processes through which a woman passes has to be identified in the land also. "Ka mei Kha" came to be associated with the centre of reproductivity. Thus sex in its pure sense came to be associated with it.

"Umai Luda" became "Kamai Luda," "Kamailupa" and finally "Kamrupa." Later this race memory helped considerably to absorb a cult of debased Tantrism which developed from the Buddhist Bajrajana, Mantrajana, Sahajajana and other sects and gradually degenerated into a Tantric ritualism in which according to many, orgies came to be more and more prominent.

But this is not the whole story. Kamrupa and Pragjyotisha were known in the days of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata also. We hear the names of Naraka and Bhagadatta, Bana, Usha, Aniruddha, Ulupi, Babhrubahana, Hidimba and Ghototkacha. Kamrupa was the last outpost of Aryan infiltration in the east through Videha or Mithila.

There is a story in Satapatha Brahmana (8th century B.C.) of the carrying of the sacrificial fire from Saraswati towards the east. The name Pragjyotisha was probably derived from this, meaning dawn. Even in historical times the Nidhanpur Copper Plate inscription describes the Kamrupa King Bhaskar Varman, the contemporary of Harsha and Sasanka whose court was visited by Hiuentsang, as the revealer of the Aryan religion. Both in legend and history, however, Siva worship was a popular form of religion in the early times. Bana was a Siva worshipper.

According to "Buranjis," Siva worship was introduced by Jalpeswara, a king of Jalpaiguri. Gradually this mixed up with the old 'Aai' 'pujah or the worship of the mother goddess and came to represent a dual creative principle of male and female interlocked in the symbol of "Linga and Yoni. Old Austric race memories and a matrilineal substructure considerably helped to evolve a new concept. Thus the famous Kamakhya temple in a way enshrined a new assimilative force from an old Austric deity to the highest cosmic sense of evolution as envisaged in the Vedas and the Upanishads, tempered and modified considerably by a later Tantric infiltration. Around it gradually grew a debased form of ritualism, Buddhistic, animistic as well as Hindu, in which women figured more and more. That is one explanation of how the fair damsels of Kamrupa and neighbouring places, who, by heredity, birth and race memory were free to follow their matrilineal instincts, came to be associated as willing decoys of higher powers, associated with the mother goddess and her yoginis, and acquired a notoriety which sometimes was nothing sort of an absurd exaggeration. Yet there is indisputable evidence that even till the other day we could hear of 'Ratikhoa,' 'Bhogi' and 'Yogini Sadhan' as relics still subsisting. This was the position in the 11th|12th centuries when a mixture of bloody cults, a debased ritualism, tantric esoterism and race memories of free love all combined to give the impression that Kamrupa was a land of mystic lotus-eaters and witches, where Bacchus reigned and Eros ruled under the protection of the goddess Kamakshya. Kamrupa then was supposed to be extending from the river Karotoya in North Bengal to Sadiya and it also bordered Nepal.

Then two things happened in Assam—two specific and dynamic events which changed the whole course of its history. One was the advent of the Ahoms. They were an immigrant race group akin to Shans and Thais. They soon became completely aryanized, took Hindu names and claimed descent from Indra and styled themselves as "Swargadeos" and began a process of absorption and assimilation. The second big event in Assam's history was the preaching of a new doctrine of monotheistic Vaishnavism by Srimant Sankaradeva. He was not merely a religious reformer, a spiritual dreamer, a saint or a sage, but also a poet, a philosopher, a master mind with an active idealism, who had the vision to see ahead of his time. His "Eka Sarana Nama Dharma" was an attempt to revive the pristine glory of the Gita's philosophy, of complete self-surrender to God, who, to Sri Sankaradeva was above duality. His doctrines were almost in the nature of an active revolt against ritualistic orgies which he found at Kamrupa at the time.

It has to be admitted that Kamrupa in her later days produced some fine specimens of womanhood whose tales, it is a privilege to remember. One was Sati Jaymati whose name is still being sung in ballads in North Bengal and Kamrupa. She was a princess in her right, but her husband had lost his kingdom and took shelter in the jungles. His last words to her were—Do not worry—I will come back. She waited and waited for the husband who never returned. In the meantime the enemies pressed on her to tell the whereabouts of his absconding husband. She would not open her lips. Torture, temptation, trouble, nothing could shake her. Days passed and sadder and wiser she became but she would not give her husband away. She laid down her own life for her husband's sake. Maharaja Rudra Sinha built a temple and dug a big lake in her memory at Rungpur known as 'Jaideul' and 'Jaisagar.'

Another lady of such piety was queen Kamala or Kamal Kumari. Famine and drought had taken grip of the land. Hungry people were shouting at the door-steps of the King's palace. He had ordered excavation of a big pond, but there was no subsoil water. The queen was perturbed and prayed. In the night a message came in the shape of a dream to the King. He must sacrifice his best i.e., the thing or person he most loved. In the morning, the cries of thirsty men, women and children pierced their ears. The queen asked if anything could not be done. The King told her of his dream. Her mind was at once made up. Yes, she was the best loved of the King and told the King of her resolve. She could not conceive of a greater good fortune—That this frail body of hers could be of some service to humanity. It was a blessing which she never expected. Please do not stop me—She said and went into the place of excavation where the hungry men and women were trying to dig a pond out of what seemed to be a barren waterless tract. She went into the pond and lo water gushed through and engulfed her as if another Sita entered the netherworld.

Yet another Kamrupa lady and a definitely historical personage was Rani Fuleswari or Bara Kuari or Pramatheswari Devi. Her story is just of a period little over two hundred years ago. King Rudra Sinha was a powerful monarch. He was a contemporary of Murshid Kuli Khan. He wanted to introduce Sakti cult in Assam, because he thought that without 'Sakti' no kingdom or king could flourish. He sent a messenger to Nabadwip to get a suitable preceptor. Krishnaram Nyayabagish agreed to come and he came, but the king was disappointed at seeing a lean man. How could such a frail man inculcate the doctrine of 'Sakti' in his people? He was sent back. But at his death-bed he asked his son Siva Sinha to get him back again. This Siva Sinha had in the meantime fallen in love with a girl called 'Phul.' She was of an humble orgin. Her beauty and grace attracted the attention of the young prince, while he was one day out on a tour. Gradually she was admitted into the **harem** and became a second-grade queen. She was such a level-headed and judiciously-balanced woman that soon she became the real power behind the throne. The King used to spend most of the time with his guru, the Agambagish, engrossed in Tantric rites. The management of the State gradually passed into the hands of this peasant Kamrupa girl. The King formally surrendered his powers to her, because it was seen by a reference to the horoscope by astrologers that the King was soon likely to lose his 'royal umbrella.' The advice was to create a legal fiction and hand over that insignia voluntarily to some one who could carry not only as the King's deputy, but in her own right. Rani Fuleswari was invested with that power and she took the name of 'Pramatheswari' and carried on the administration. She became almost an Assamese Nurjahan and even coins were struck in her name jointly with the King. She was a patron of art and literature and we find appreciative reference to her in the writings of Kavi-raja Chakravarti and Ananta Acharya. We have remarkable paintings also of this period—One of 'Durga Pujah' is the most famous.

This lady died early. King Siva Sinha married afterwards another lady called 'Madambika' and after her 'Sarbeswari.' Both these ladies also took part in the administration. In a quotation from a letter of Charles Rose to Lord Cornwallis we read—"The Assamese were a most warlike nation and had for a length of time successfully resisted all foreign invaders. Even Aurangzeb had failed. They never prospered more than when governed by females as was the case in the earlier part of the nineteenth centry."

MOBILISATION OF RESOURCES FOR THE THIRD PLAN

By Prof. A. K. PODDAR, M.A.

The economic realities of the last two years which manifested themselves in the forms of acute inflation and balance of payments disequilibrium have made it abundantly clear that the scope for using deficit financing as an instrument of financing economic development is highly limited in India. At the same time it has become more than evident that foriegn capital cannot be relied upon to fill the gap between the actual needs of planned development and the meagre domestic resources to any great extent. This means that if the pace of development is not to be toned down, larger and more serious efforts have to be made to mobilise India's domestic resources.

The problem of resources will acquire, it seems certain, challenging dimensions during the Third Plan period. During the Third Plan period, not only the tempo of economic development initiated by the First and Second Plans has to be consistently maintained, but a sizeable amount has to be provided for towards the repayment of the foriegn debt obligations. The aggregate investment outlay of the Third Plan has been tentatively put by the Planning Commission at Rs. 10,000 crores i.e. more than double the investment outlay of the Second Plan. This will raise a formidable problem of resources and needs a careful consideration of fresh ways and means of realising resources of the envisaged order.

Tax Evasion

It is the general consensus of opinion that there is not much scope for the imposition of any new major taxes. But it is paradoxical to find the direct tax revenue at the "near-stagnation level" (Rs. 220 crores in 1958-59 as compared to Rs. 188 crores in 1951-52) despite heavy investment expenditure, inflation and the introduction of a series of new taxes. This is to be explained, as has been borne out by the recent findings of the Direct Tax Administration Committee, by tax evasion on a substantial scale. From this point of view, the plugging of flaws and loopholes in the tax structure by appropriate legislations and strengthening the administration of tax collection are of primary significance.

Rural Taxation

The proposal to impose fresh taxes upon the rural sector has been opposed recently in certain quarters on the grounds that the tax system will weigh heavily upon the rural sector and this will encourage a movement of the population from rural to the urban areas. This apprehension is hardly justified. The rural sector, which accounts for over 60 per cent of the total national output, contributes less than 40 per cent of the total tax revenue according to the Taxation Enquiry Commission (1953-54). In recent times the co-operative movement and land reforms (particularly the scaling down of rents all round) have given rise to a well-to-do class of peasants. There has also been, it is believed, as a consequence of the community development projects, a shift of income in favour of the rural sector. It is desirable, therefore, that some new taxes like tax on agricultural rent, the incidence of which falls on the receiver should be imposed. The net of the capital gains tax should also be so widened as to cover the capital gains arising out of speculations in land.

There is not only scope for increasing the share of the rural sector to the total tax revenue, but also for making the tax system more progressive in this sector. According to the findings of the Taxation Enquiry Commission, those in the expenditure group Rs. 1-50 per month in the rural sector, pay about 2.2 per cent of their total expenditure as indirect taxes; but those in the groups Rs. 101 to Rs. 150 and Rs. 151 to Rs. 300 per month pay only .5 and .6 per cent more respectively than this lowest group.

With further development of agriculture and greater monetisation of the rural economy this will become an important source of tax revenue.

Rural Savings

The major part of resources for the Third Plan would, however, have to come from small savings and it is particularly important to mobilise the rural savings. It is a truism to suggest that rural savings are small because rural incomes are low. But there is a big chunk of "savings potential" which can be mobilised by designing appropriate institutions, propaganda and financial incentives. A large part of the rural income (estimated to be 10-12 per cent of the household expenditure) is spent on religious and social ceremonies.

The reason why the villagers waste their savings in this way lies partly in their peculiarly fatalist attitude towards life and the security provided by the joint family system. But the reason is also to be found in the lack of savings facilities. It has been the experience of Japan that the peasants can and do save if the facilities for saving are pushed right under their nose.

The institution through which the rural savings can be mobilised are local post offices, local co-operatives, small-scale industries, and mobile savings banks. In designing the rural savings scheme the following considerations should be borne in mind.

1. Security for the hard-earned money would be the first consideration in the mind of the rural population. The scheme should therefore, bare the guarantee of the government.

2. As individual savings are likely to be samll, the bonds should be graded in very small denominations.

3. Liquidity is particularly valued by the villagers and that is why they purchase land or gold whenever they have spare money. The bonds should therefore be liquid and marketable.

4. It is difficult to provide any further financial incentives in the rural sector as the rates of interest prevalent there are already very high. It may be suggested, however, that the existing rate should be scaled down by legislations and the Government bonds should carry a relatively high rate of interest.

The extension of savings facilities would be of little value if it is not accompanied by a widespread savings campaign. By propaganda and publicity, the horizen of life of the rural population has to be widened so as to stimulate in them the desire for independence and future improvement of the standard of living.

At the same time, the small savings movement should be intensified in the urban sector by popularising National

Savings Certificates, Post Office Savings, Treasury Savings Deposits, State Borrowing Schemes, Government Prize Bonds, Life Insurance and Provident Fund Schemes.

State Trading

In order to increase government savings, the sphere of State Trading should be progressively widened and the profits otherwise going into the pockets of thousands of small traders and middlemen should be captured by the government and should be invested in the public enterprise. The price policy of the public sector should also be so designed as to generate large profits which should be reinvested. The public enterprise can provide a sizeable amount for capital formation if it is properly organised and administered; China and Soviet Russia are cases in point. In China and Soviet Russia, profits of the public enterprise constitute the major source of saving.

Gold Hoards

The proposal to mobilise the gold hoards of the country deserve more serious consideration than it has so far received. According to the Reserve Bank of India, the total private stocks of gold in the country would be around 1.5 million ounces or Rs. 1750 crores in value. This gold is held in small quantities by thousands of people in varying forms ranging from gold bar to ornaments and dinner sets.

The hope to mobilise these gold hoards by "a gold certificate scheme" as some have suggested is, however, futile. No amount of financial incentive or public appeal can remove the age-old habit of the Indians to store wealth in "yellow metal." It is desirable that a legislation of the kind prevalent in the USA which prohibits private ownership of gold above a certain quantity (that too in the form of ornaments of certain specifications) should be enforced. This would indeed mean State Trading in gold. If State Trading in foodgrains is desirable, it is much more desirable in gold.

Finally, it needs to be stressed that in a backward community resources need not necessarily be in terms of money, they may also be in the form of idle manpower and unexploited technical opportunities. From this point of view, it is important to intensify the community development movement in the villages and to popularise the idea of 'Shramdan' among the educated masses.

To conclude, the problem of resources it appears, is likely to remain in the economic horizon of the country as a challenging problem for quite sometime to come. Fundamentally, it is a problem of organisation and enterprise. It demands mobilisation and consolidation of organisational skill, leadership, technical ingenuity and co-operative enterprise of our countrymen.

LABORATORY-INDUCED NEUROSES

BY G. P. CHATTERJEE, M.A.

PECULIAR habits of great men easily attract attention and find place in writings about them. For example one who has read about Dr. Johnson would never forget that he had the habit of touching every lamp-post in the street whenever, he went out for a walk. Those who are not great men also may show evidences of such habits. These habits arouse momentary amusement to those who happen to observe their commission. One day while I was waiting for the bus near College Square, I saw a person counting each and every rod of the fence round the square. The peculiarity of habit is exactly like that of Dr. Johnson. Such behaviour readily catches our eyes simply because it is not generally seen. In a word it is abnormal.

Hence, the question is: What type of behaviour is to be stamped as abnormal in contrast with normal behaviour? The word normal is, however, used in different senses. In medicine, it is used to indicate the absence of physical pathological condition. But in Psychology, it is used in the sense of the average. When it is said that a man is normal in height, it means one whose height approximates to the statistical average. Normality thus is judged against its background. A Nepali, who is considered as of average height amongst the Nepalese, is regarded as abnormally short when he is in the midst of the Punjabis. This is true of physical features, qualities, behaviour, etc.

Abnormalities of behaviour may take various forms. One of the major varieties of abnormal behaviour is neurotic behaviour. Neuroses may be defined as inability to cope with the reality. It is the experience of the Psychologists that neurotic behaviour is due to unresolved conflicts in the human mind. Investigations in controlled circumstances have been made to see the effect of conflicts on animals with a particular emphasis on the appearance of abnormal behaviour.

Pavlov, the renowned physiologist, was first to produce neuroses in laboratory. He carried his experiments on a dog. The dog was repeatedly shown a luminous circle, immediately following which it was always fed. The dog became conditioned to salivate at the sight of the circle. Then it was shown a luminous ellipse after which no food was given. The dog soon mastered the required discrimination learning to salivate whenever it saw the circle and not to salivate when the ellipse appeared. Then the second stimulus, *i.e.*, the ellipse was made more and more similar to the circle. Eventually the difference between the first set of stimuli and that of the second became less and less. At one point of time the animal could not distinguish betwten the two, unable to react either to the circle or to the ellipse. Finally, the dog began to struggle, bark and bite. Even when it is taken out of the situation it reacted in the same way. Pavlov explained this by saying that the two processes, one of excitation and the other of inhibition, are occurring at the same time.

Anderson following the path of Pavlov made experiments on sheep. He also arrived at similar findings but noted some peculiar facts. He noted that the behaviour disturbance varies greatly in different sheep, some became too quiet, some restless and anxious.

Many Psychologists raised serious objections with regard to the application of these findings to human beings. They advocated that the conflict which has produced the neuroses is of a very simple type, it is a conflict between two simple responses, salivation and indifference. In case of human beings, the circumstances are so complex that there is hardly any similarity with the above-mentioned situation. Moreover, the animals under experiment usually were placed in very confining situations (animals were kept in chain) as a result of which their movements were greatly limited.

Messerman conducted experiments on cats keeping his eyes open over the errors committed by his predecessors. He performed experiments in a situation which closely resemble the conditions productive of human neuroses in the following way:

Conflict is produced between two strong motives, *i.e.*, between fear and hunger.

Secondly, conflict is based on factors other than inability to respond.

He used a box the side-walls of which were of glass, and its floor was an iron grid. In the middle of the floor, there was an escape platform. There were many other arrangements, such as arrangement for food, etc. The cats were conditioned to feeding response. After they learned to secure food in response to the feeding signals, they were subjected to a grid shock, air blast, or both at the moment of feeding. In almost every cat, one or two experience or experiences of this type were enough to produce some sort of neurotic behaviour. The symptoms shown by different animals varied differently, some showed changes in spontaneous activity, some other chronic anxiety, some phobic responses.

Thus in a conflict-producing situation, behaviour becomes abnormal. Messerman saw that there are some factors which accentuates neurotic behaviour in the cats. These are increase in hunger and restriction to a small space in the cage. This is obvious, because these two factors augmented stress and strain to which the animals were subjected.

Messerman was not satisfied to see the nature of situation that prdouces neuroses, he wanted to know how the neuroses of these neurotic cats can be cured, he conducted experiments and found that the following are very effective in alleviating neuroses:

(1) *Rest*: Prolonged rest, *i.e.*, if the cats were taken out of cage for a long time and it resulted in some alleviation of the neurotic behaviour, cats became less afraid, and sometimes ate a little in the cage.

(2) *Reduction in hunger drive*: If the cat was fed just before being placed in the cage, it showed diminished abnormality of behaviour, The explanation lies in the fact that reduction of one of the antagonistic motives lessened the conflict.

(4) It has been found that the method of reassurance and persuasion is effective in eliminating the abnormality of behaviour. Cats when gently patted began to eat.

(4) Another method was that of the forced situation. The intensity of the cat's desire for food was increased to such an extent that the food-getting reactions came definitely to prevail over the fear behaviour. The basis of it lies in the fact that the conflict will be intense when both the parties are of equal strength. The weaker will obviously be over-powered by the stronger.

(5) Another method is social example, that is seeing the normal feeding behaviour of non-neurotic cage mates, many neurotic cats began to take food.

(6) Messerman saw that a partial control of the situation by cats leads to decrease in abnormality of behaviour. This is due t the fact that this increases their self-confiden and with more self-confidence, they can easi resolve conflicts.

Many psychologists have conducted fas nating experiments on this line. It is n possible to include their findings in this artic The clinical experience of the Psychologists that external frustration alone does not co monly produce 'mental' disorders; the hum beings do not usually break down mere because external (environmental) obstac block them from obtaining money, presti sexual satisfaction, etc., which they desire that the goal-seeking behaviour must be block through internal sources, typically by so sort of internal conflicts. Thus if an you man's proposal of marriage meets w rejection, which is here the external obsta although he may be deeply affected, he d not develop neuroses but if his sexual desi are frustrated by an internal struggle betw such desires and fear of the opposite sex, break-down frequently results. Messerm experiment is a successful one, because he p duced internal conflicts in the cats, w Pavlov and Anderson in their experim created external obstacles that were faced their subjects. Among the methods sugge by Messerman for alleviating abnormality behaviour, it has been found that in case human beings the partial control of the si tion is most effective. The subject in orde have control over the situation must un stand the situation thoroughly. The metho partial control gives insight to the sub This increases self-confidence. The subject only resolves the conflict present before but in future he can also use this techniq doing so.

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowleged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

THE STORY OF THE CULTURAL EMPIRE OF INDIA: By P. Thomas, Joseph Thomasons & Co. Ernakulam. Pp. 337. Rs. 11-50 nP.

The aim of this work as the author modestly informs us in his Preface, is to produce "a handbook for the layman" interested in the subject which is necessarily treated in "its bare outline" with the emphasis laid on "those developments that had an international appeal." The monograph accordingly divides itself into two parts, one called "Development of Indian Culture," and the other bearing the title "Indian Cultural Expansion." The first part covers the period from the earliest times down to the epoch of the Muslim conquest which practically stopped the cultural expansion of India. The second part deals with the spread of Indan influences to all the countries of South-East Asia and East Asia. The author condenses a large mass of valuable information written in an attractive style with remarkable sympathy and understanding. The work as such amply fulfils his aim of writing "a story intended to evoke interest rather than a sound work on history" (Preface). It is, however, the reviewer's painful duty to notice in this work a number of defects and shortcomings which, it is hoped, will be corrected in a new edition. Among mis-spellings of proper names may be mentioned "Mohan-jo-daro" (p. 7 and throughout the work), "Kapilavasthu" (p. 46), "Sarvakayana" (p. 116), "Garbha Graha" (p. 123), "Pradikshana Pathas" (p. 124), "Mricchakatida" (p. 146), "Samstanaka" (p. 173), "Khudda Nikaya" and "Athakatha" (p. 175), "Prajnaparimita" (p. 177), "Mohammad Ghazni" (p. 197). Instances of repetition of outworn views are the Sudra origin of Chandragupta with the probable peacock-totem of his tribe (p. 75), the Indo-Parthian origin of the Pallavas who settled down in the Punjab and were afterwards driven to the south (p. 95), the story of the discovery of the monsoons by the Egyptian Hippaulus (sic) (p. 96). Among errors of fact may be mentioned the extent of Chandragupta Maurya's empire "from Kashmir to Mysore" (p. 78), the dates of "Periplus of the Erythraean Sea" and of Ptolemy (pp. 99-100), the identification of "Udayana" (sic) with Afghanistan (p. 197) and of "Sonaparanta" with "Suvarnabhumi" which itself is identified with Burma (p. 259). On p. 167 the contents of "the Smritis proper" are said to be "the two epics, the 'Puranas,' the 'Tantras,' the 'Dharma Shastras,' the 'Smartha Sutras' (sic), the 'Vedangas' and the 'Niti Shastras' . . ." In the same context "Uddisa" and "Mantramahabodhi" are mentioned in a list of works on "Tantra," and the "Smartha Sutras" are said "generally to lay down rules for performance of domestic ceremonies, funeral rites, etc." The map of Indian cultural expansion by the end of the 8th century A.D. shows no details, while it mentions place-names with wrong transliterations, viz., "Udayana" and "Ramandesa." The bibliography omits a number of works of specialists while including some books of a general character. The Index is fairly complete.

U. N. GHOSHAL

LOKAYATA (A Study in Ancient Indian Materialism): By Debi Prosad Chattopadhya. Published by the People's Publishing House, New Delhi. Price Rs. 27.50.

Indian philosophy is popularly believed to be as old as the Himalayas. It has many facets. Values pertaining to different categories emerged simultaneously and one claimed suzerainty over the rest in turn. Systems owing their allegiance to the Vedas moved in one direction while systems not owing such allegiance moved to another direction. Indians in an attitude of ' abject surrender to the Vedas and the idealistic view of life placed idealistic values above everything and wrecked all their material future in quest of an utopia hallowed by a value-pattern taking its roots in this idealistic philosophy. Eudemonistic philosophy, Altruistic ethics, the philosophy of renunciation and give away had the biggest following on the Indian soil. The poignant Upanisadic utterance 'Ten takten bhunjitha' was the beacon-light to many a moksha-loving soul. But that was not the last word on Indian wisdom. Epicureanism was not unknown to us. Materialism was not foreign to our thinking. We enunciated principles which stood for a thorough-going materialist's paradise where one could say that for butter for your bread you may beg, borrow or steal. Specially in a world as we find it to-day materialism stands in a good stead. After Karl Marx materialism has acquired a world-wide recognition and a new meaning. In this background the older Indian materialistic philosophy calls for our attention.

In the work under review Prof. Chattopadhya places before the interested readers a logically connected and well-documented study of the materialistic philosophy propounded by a school of thought noted for their outspokenness and unconventionality. Against the background of passionate idealism of the Upanishads and Brahmanas, our ancient materialistic philosophy is in striking contrast. Prof. Chattopadhya has dug in the hearts of forgotten centuries and resuscitated and brought back to life a trend of thinking, considered foreign to our culture by the orthodox pundits. In the book under review he has constructed a rational and intelligible account of our ancient philosophy of this worldiness or materialism as propounded by a particular school of thought. The author claims that the beginning of a primitive proto-materialist view reflecting the consciousness of a pre-class society can be traced to a primordial complex of ritual practices and theories dating back to pre-Buddhist and pre-Upanisadic times. This theory might seem extravagant to many. But a careful and patient study will make one convinced that Prof. Chattopadhya's thesis has been ably and admirably reared up. It is well-documented and the polemics seem to be irrefutable. The ancient social facts as analysed by him corroborate his theory. But, we are sure, the claims put forward by Prof. Chattophadhya will spark off controversies and once it is done the book will serve its purpose. Because the place of materialism in the context of ancient Indian philosophy would then be refixed and the value of ancient Indian materialism reassessed. However, this volume does not present an exhaustive study of all the materialistic trends in ancient Indian philosophy. For example, no discussion has been incorporated of the atomism of the Vaisesikas and such other systems. Of course, this is evident from the very title of the book. Only the Lokayata philosophy has been singled out for the purpose of the book. The Lokayata texts are all lost and they are beyond redemption. That made Prof. Chattopadhya's task all the more difficult. He has taken much pains to present a connected account of the philosophy of the Lokayatikas, as he has been able to reconstruct such a system from the writings of the opponents of the Lokayata, who refuted and ridiculed the Lokayata philosophy. The author sets himself to a task which looks urgent in the present context and overwhelming by its very nature.

The volume contains eight chapters running to a length of nearly seven hundred pages. This big length is not a wasteful run and I must confess that when I finished the book and left it on the rack where it was a couple of months back I thought myself a better-equipped man so far as philosophical knowledge was concerned. The book is nicely got up and it seems that all care has been taken to ensure its decent production. The publishers deserve a word of praise for this big enterprise. We recommend this book to all lovers of philosophy, both idealistic and materialistic.

Sudhir Kumar Nandi

ESSENTIAL NOTES AND DOCUMENTS ON KASHMIR DISPUTE: By P. L. Lakhanpal (International Publications, New Delhi)—Price Rs. 15|-.

Jammu and Kashmir with an area of 84,471 square miles and a population of about 4,700,000 is one of the principal bones of contention between India and Pakistan. Pakistan contends that as the majority of the people of Jammu and Kashmir are Muslims, it should form a part of Pakistan. India, on the other hand, contends that Kashmir has, of its own free will, acceded to India and the accession stands. She is, moreover, no believer in the Muslim League's two-nation theory.

On the transfer of power to the Dominions of India and Pakistan on August 14-15, 1947, the nearly 600 Princedoms of India became sovereign states. They might or might not accede to either of the Dominions. The decision was to be taken by the ruling chiefs. Almost all the ruling chiefs decided on accession either to India or to Pakistan, the Nizam of Hyderabad in the South and the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir in the North being the only two exceptions. Maharaja Sir Hari Singh of Jammu and Kashmir at first played the dangerous game of sitting on the fence, which brought about his own undoing and terrible sufferings for his people. Kashmir was invaded by tribal hordes from across Pakistan. The raiders were actively aided by the Government of Pakistan. The Maharaja came to his senses and acceded to India, the accession being accepted by the Government of India on October 27, 1947. The Indian army was rushed to the rescue of Kashmir. The Pakistan inspired tide of invasion was halted. The Government of India accused Pakistan of aggression against Indian territory and referred the matter to the Security Council of the United Nations (January 1, 1948). The Government of Pakistan replied by a counter-complaint against India to the same august assembly (January 15, 1948). The Security Council resolution of April 21, 1948, created the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) for a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan. The Commission's proposal for cease-fire (August 13, 1948) pending final solution was accepted by both India and Pakistan. The subsequent history of the dispute is too well-known to need a narration.

Mr. Lakhanpal's treatise is a very well-documented study of the Kashmir problem. He has laboriously compiled all important document relating to Kashmir from the creation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir by the treaty of Amritsar (1846). He has added notes where necessary and has given a bird's-eye view of the history of Kashmir from the earliest times to the formation of the so-called First Azad Kashmir Government (October 3, 1947), which was soon replaced by a new Azad Kashmir Government (Oct. 24, 1947).

Students of current affairs will be benefitted by a perusal of the volume.

Sudhansu Bimal Mookherji.

SINDHI SHORT STORIES: Translated by Hashoo Kewal Ramani. Hasmat Publications. New Delhi. 1958. Pp. 78. Rs. 2.50nP.

This collection of short stories by twelve modern Sindhi writers from India and Pakistan is a welcome addition to this continent's post-war literary endeavours. Selected and translated with care, the stories reveal interesting trends and nuances of the modern Sindhi writer's mind. It is to be hoped that with so many competent and enthusiastic young writers at work, the Sindhi short story will soon gain its merited place in post-war Indian literature.

Ramesh Ghoshal

BENGALI

SISIR-BINDU: *By Samir Kumar Gupta. Distributors: Sadharan Publishers, 6, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.*

Poems rich in thought-content as well as in expression. Like the sunlit dew-drops of the morning they reflect the varying colours of the Playful Infinite. A careful reader will particularly like the profundity of note attended with sobriety and restraint.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

HAMARE YUG KA ITIHAS: Published by Gayaprasad & Sons, Agra. 1958. Pp. 160. Price Rs. 5.

This purports to be a translation of the well-known book **History of our Time** by Dr. G. P. Gooch, relating to the years 1885-1914. Our times have changed, and changed very considerably during 1914-54. Two world wars and nuclear weapons and much quicker means of transport, and also rockets for the Moon and revolutionary, political and economic theories and practices—still there is no questioning the need of understanding the streams of life and analysing them as far as possible to grasp them, and Gooch's book is a suitable preparation. The translation is good, and when the medium of instruction in our colleges is undergoing a change, it should prove useful.

P. R. Sen

GUJARATI

(1) JADABHARAT: By Vamanrao P. Patel. Pp. 50. Price 5 annas.

(2) MANUSHYA DHARMA: By —D — Pp. 240. Price Rs. 2.

(3) BALAKONI (Ritbhat): By Somabhai Bhavsar. Pp. 30. Price 3 annas.

All three published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature. Printed at its own printing press, Ahmedabad. 1951. Thick card-board.

Our country, Bharat, takes its name from King Bharat, whose various vicissitudes in life are described here in difficul prose and easy verse. He had become indifferent to life's difficulties and worldl matters. In four sections, the writer tells men what their duties (Dharma) are towards self and others in the words of the Shruti, the Smritis, the Puranas, Saints and lastly Gandhiji. Children are given, i the third book, lessons on correct behaviour, e.g., if by chance, one child gets knocked against another, he is advised to say, "M Mistake, Please Excuse." He is advised n to steal, nor to tell untruths, &c.

K. M. J.

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Indian Periodicals

Thomas Rabington Macaulay

October 25, 1800—December 28, 1859

Lord Macaulay was a great influence, along more than one channel, upon the India of two generations ago, besides being a force in English life and literature. Dr. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar writes in "The Aryan Path":

The "Eminent Victorians" were as a rule a race of long-lived men and women: Browning, Carlyle, Gladstone, Newman, Ruskin, Tennyson, Florence Nightingale. But there were exceptions. For example, Macaulay, as "eminent" and as "Victorian" as any of them, died on December 28th, 1859, soon after beginning the sixtieth year of his life. No inheritor of unfulfilled renown, surely; yet for a man of such great vitality, so abundantly gifted with the zest for life, his death was the only commonplace thing about his extraordinary career. "Commonplace" because it happens to all, and Macaulay proved no exception; but there was nothing commonplace about the way he met it. Nine days earlier he had recorded: "I feel as if I were twenty years older . . . as if I were dying of old age. I am perfectly ready, and shall never be readier." His **last** significant act was to dictate and sign a letter to a poor curate, with a gift of £25. The same evening Macaulay was dead. For sixty years he had worked the instrument of his body with an unwearying sense of dedication to high and worthy causes: of scholarship and letters; of Whig politics and Indian administration; of freedom within a framework of order; of education for enlightenment and citizenship; of sanity and purity in public and private life. At fifty he could write: "Well, I have had a happy life. I do not know that anybody, whom I have seen close, has had a happier." But the instrument was worn down at last, as the most efficient must be, and he died, as he had lived, upright and austere, clear-headed and articulate till the end.

His father, Zachary Macaulay the philanthropist, had been an enthusiastic campaigner against slavery, and had thereby almost ruined himself financially. This was Thomas Babington Macaulay's school of idealism and austerity; it tested and tempered the fibre of his character, and settled him on the high and dignified course of his life. Although he never married himself, he willingly bore the burden of sustaining the family in its difficult days, and till the last he lent his protecting hand to his sisters and their families, and drew them into the unsullied, unselfish world of his love. His formal writings and speeches revealed only one side of the man, the "eminent Victorian." But the Victorian was also a man, and public eminence did not exclude private benefactions, the pieties appropriate to the son, or brotherly or avuncular tenderness or solicitude. Something of all this can be seen in Macaulay's Letters and Diaries, and in the testimonies of his near relations and close associates.

Tom Macaulay was a precocious child. He read with avidity, he wrote with fluency; he instructed himself, and was ready—even as a boy—to instruct others; in short, he took himself very seriously indeed. Entering Trinity College in 1818, he speedily distinguished himself there, won the Chancellor's Medal for Poetry, and was duly elected Fellow. In August 1825, his essay on Milton appeared in the "Edinburgh Review." "The effect on the author's reputation was instantaneous," writes his nephew and biographer, Sir Otto Trevelyan; "Like Lord Byron, he awoke one morning and found himself famous." To the discipline of letters he presently added the discipline of law, but soon a lucky turn in his life—the friendly interest of Lord Lansdowne—led him to politics. He entered Parliament in 1830, made notable contributions to the debates on Parliamentary Reform, and after the Reform Bill of 1832 became law he entered Government as Commissioner (and later Secretary) of the Board of Control. Being now offered the lucrative post of Member of the Supreme Council for India, he reached Madras on June 10th, 1834, and after a trip to Ootacamund to meet Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General, he travelled to Calcutta and set up house with his sister, Hannah. To Macaulay

India meant financial independence for life; but it opened also a field for the full play of his talents. "I can scarcely conceive a nobler field than that which our Indian Empire now presents to a statesman," he wrote to Lord Lansdowne, and added: "I am afraid that I am aspiring too high for my qualifications. I sometimes feel . . . . depressed and appalled by the immense responsibility which I have undertaken."

Macaulay was in India for less than four years, but these were a period of intense activity. Appointed President of the Committee of Public Instruction, he found that opinion was 'sharply and equally divided between the Orientalists and the Anglicists. He threw his weight unhesitatingly on the side of the latter, submitted his celebrated Minute to the Governor-General, and as good as gave an ultimatum. If the final decision was in favour of English, he would "enter on the performance of my duties with the greatest zeal and alacrity," if, on the contrary, the decision was in favour of Arabic and Sanskrit, he would "retire from the chair of the Committee." On March 7th, 1835, Government decided that the available funds should be expended on English education alone with a view to the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India. The die was cast; a new era in India's cultural and political history had begun.

Macaulay's Minute makes interesting reading even today. His conclusions were right enough, and his main reasoning was unexceptionable. In the speech he delivered in Parliament in July 1833, Macaulay had covered the whole ground of Indian administration, and had declared:

"It is scarcely possible to calculate the benefits which we might derive from the diffusion of European civilization among the vast population of the East. It would be, on the most selfish view of the case, far better for us that the people of India were well governed and independent of us, than ill governed and subject to us . . . It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or retard it."

It was this faith and this hope that inspired the Minute, and in fact all his activities in India. English education, he felt, convinced, would train a class of enlightened citizens and able administrators; and the selected beneficiaries of this education would themselves refine and enrich the "vernacular dialects" of the country and make these "by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population." Besides, far-sighted Indians were already clamouring for English education, and not a few had demonstrated their capacity "to discuss political or scientific questions with fluency and precision in the English language." Where Macaulay erred was in falling foul of Sanskrit in his zeal for English. He knew nothing of Arabic or Sanskrit, or knew only by hearsay. Yet he would asseverate and dogmatize, and break the imaginary butterfly on the Juggernaut wheel of his rhetoric. A single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia! Sanskrit and Arabic literature forsooth! Was it anything more than false History, false Astronomy, false Medicine, "and" false Religion? Macaulay was wrong, egregiously wrong, and he did not even suspect that he might possibly be wrong. Posterity, however, can readily forgive him his trespasses, because, after all, he meant well, and strove valiantly to do the right thing in the given circumstances.

Not less important than the gift of English education to the people of India was the gift of the Criminal Code. Again, in his 1833 speech in Parliament, Macaulay had affirmed:

"As I believe that India stands more in need of a code than any other country in the world, I believe also that there is no country on which that great benefit can more easily be conferred. A code is almost the only blessing, perhaps it is the only blessing, which absolute governments are better fitted to confer on a nation than popular governments . . . . A quiet knot of two or three veteran jurists is an infinitely better machinery for such a purpose than a large popular assembly divided, as such assemblies almost always are, into adverse factions. This seems to me, therefore, to be precisely that point of time at which the advantage of a complete written code of laws may most easily be conferred on India.

As Legal Member of the Council in India, Macaulay drafted the Criminal Code himself, with singular efficiency and despatch. It was largely derived from the British law, though shorn of much of its extravagance and ambiguity, and in essentials Macaulay's Code is also the Criminal Code of the present day. Although superlative clarity may sometimes be deemed a blemish in imaginative literature, in a Criminal Code it can only be a virtue beyond all praise. If only the draftsmen of our time could emulate Macaulay, how much wearisome litigation might not be avoided."

Returning to England in 1838, Macaulay started work on his "History of England from the Accession of James II." He had impressive qualifications for the task: he had read extensively and gathered with assiduity the materials for his "History"; he had in some measure the gift of historical imagination, the willingness to be possessed by the visions and vistas of the Past; and he had evolved a telling and apparently effortless narrative style. But politics diverted his energies more than once from the main direction of historical labours. He became Secretary for War; he became Paymaster-General. He was in and out of Parliament; he was in and out of office. At last, in 1848, the first two volumes of the "History" came out. Three thousand copies were sold in ten days. He was not merely a literary celebrity; he was also a prosperous man. He was elected Rector of Glasgow University. He was offered the Regius Professorship of Modern History at Cambridge. He continued to visit the British Museum and take notes for the subsequent volumes of the "History". Two more of these appeared in 1855, and he felt gratified that the "History" sold better in the United States than almost any other book except the Bible. In the meantime, his "Lays of Ancient Rome" had appeared in 1842, his collected "Critical and Historical Essays" in 1843, and his "Speeches" in 1854. In 1857, Queen Victoria created him Baron Macaulay of Rotheley. It was the apotheosis of his career.

Although the "History" was the majar preoccupation of the last twenty years of his life, his political affiliations—even when he was not actually in office—were neither inexacting nor ineffective. He made decisive, if occasional, contributions to Parliamentary debates; he made two classic speeches on the Copyright Law; and once, in 1853, he purposively intervened while the India Bill was being discussed. And always, whenever he rose to speak, it was, says Gladstone, "a summons like a trumpet-call to fill the benches." Macaulay was the great orator, speaking not for the sake of speaking, but being as it were driven by his high sense of responsibility and sustained by the authority that flowed from his immense knowledge and giant self-confidence. His prose style was his particular and peculiar fortune, and the style was the man. His "Essays" and even his "History" are defiantly oratorical, and his speeches—being always carefully fashioned with a sedulous elaboration and finish—were ever in his best essayist's manner. He was all of a piece: the man and his style, the writings and the speeches, the man of affairs and the man of letters—they were all of a piece. His great strength was also his principal weakness, but then his weakness was no denial of his strength. We have to take him all in all, strength and weakness together.

As a historian Macaulay was no Herodotus or Thucydides, no Clarendon or Gibbon; but even to be Macaulay was no mean achievement. There is here weight and amplitude; a vivid pictorial imagination is here surely at work; and reel after reel unrolls the pageantry of the past, and the reader is held in a trance of fascination. Clarendon often speaks from personal knowledge: he coins his own experiences, his own hopes, sufferings, vacillations, exultations; it is "his" dear King that is the tragic hero of the "History of the Rebellion." Gibbon's Rome was a distant Himalayas, he was charmed by the crowded canvas, the clash of men, the march of affairs, though he was not personally involved in Rome and her politics. But Macaulay was at once too far and too near his historcal theme. He was a Whig, and William III was his idol; yet he could see his hero and the events of 1688 only through the spectacles of other men's memories. He had neither Clarendon's intimacy nor Gibbon's detachment, neither the marvellous intuitions of the one nor the perspicacious and shining intellect of the other. "Philistine": so Francis Thompson and Lytton Strachey called Macaulay. But an artist also, in his own right; and "elevated to the Pantheon of literature by virtue of a quite supra-Philistine power."

Both as a historian and as a biographer, it was Macaulay's business to tell stories. And he was a vivid, even the supremely vivid, story-teller. The episode of the Seven Bishops; the Siege of Londonderry; the Massacre at Glencoe; the trial of Warren Hastings—these are packed with drama. Characters tend to pair off like duellists: Hastings and Francis, Newcastle and the elder Pitt, or Fox and the Younger. There is high tragedy, there is tantalizing pusillanimity, there is Plautine comedy; there is exhortation, there is thrilling eulogy, there is acid derogation. The reconstructions of bygone scenes in Parliament are magnificent, but the battles are somehow less than battles. Nevertheless one must read on and on, and one is not fatigued, and one is not disappointed. Macaulay's portraits, although they lack the final incandescent glow of life, are striking none the less; as pictures, if not also as life-likenesses, they are certainly recognizable and unforgettable. Whatever the real and the whole truth about them, to the vast majority, at any rate, Clive and Hastings, Chatham and Pitt, are what Macaulay has made of them.

Macaulay was so "cocksure" about the many things on life's macadamized road because he was content to ignore what lay off the thoroughfare—the bylanes, the moors, the marshes, the desert sands, the still deeps, the far heights. There are imponderables in life—the intimations and perturbations of the spirit, the insurrections in the heart and the obscure infinities of the soul. As a critic of poetry, Macaulay was conventional, and poetry seldom seems to have truly transported him; as a critic of life and letters, he suffered from imperfect sympathies and frozen susceptibilities, much as Dr. Johnson did; he was stone-deaf and blind to beauty other than the pedestrian; and he was prone to be loud and aggressive, rather than friendly and familiar. Strachey says that as Macaulay had not experienced the intense physical emotion and exhilaration of sexual love, his sentences "have no warmth and no curves; the embracing fluidity of love is lacking." He thus talks and writes straight on: the horses gallop at a regulated speed, the hoofs fall like hammer strokes, the carriage of the narrative or argument heaves forward with precipitancy. The repetitions and the balance; the intrepid piston-movement with "which" or "of" or "when" or "while" or "without" or "less" or "above" or "leaving" for the start; the pat simile, the neat generalization; the ringing ding-dong; the epic catalogue, the adroit recapitulation; the disproportionate elaboration, the wild exaggeration: these many tricks of the Macaulayan style are familiar enough. In Macaulay's hands the tricks generally turn to overwhelming art, though they have also seduced to absurdity whole generations of writers, and especially Indian writers, of English. He wrote in his Diary on January 12th, 1850: "How little the all-important art of making meaning pellucid is studied now! Hardly any popular writer, except myself, thinks of it"....Four years later he wrote, after rearranging some chapters of his "History": "What labour it is to make a tolerable book, and how little readers know how much labour the ordering of the parts has cost the writer!"

Like Pope in his verse, Macaulay too painstakingly cultivated clarity and correctness in his prose. We may shake our heads; we may deplore the remorseless hammering, the persistent emphasis, the ceaseless glitter; we may miss the nuances, the meanderings, the "deep magics" of a Browne, a Lamb, a De Quincey; yet Macaulay triumphantly stands his ground with the weight and volume of his matter and the immediate power and sufficiency of his style. A century after his death, the Macaulayan edifice shows no signs of serious wear and tear.

There is his fabric (writes Professor Elton) with its great shining surface, its solid skilful grandiose architecture, its bold bright colouring, which must be judged, in fairness, from a little distance off; it has a pillar broken, a facade tarnished here and there; but the thing stands.

"Eminent Victorian," without a doubt, "a miracle to his own generation," said Carlyle, and added that the memory of this "miracle" filled him "with a cheerful amazement." As we recapitulate Macaulay's life and re-read his "History" and his "Essays." as we turn back leaf after leaf of the great volume of his life, as we expose ourselves yet once again to the continuous blaze of his rhetoric, like his contemporaries we too are dazzled by the miracle, and we too are filled with "a cheerful amazement."

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Public Funds and Birth Control

Jewish Frontier, December, 1959 comments editorially :

The survey of population growth in under-developed areas recently made public by the United States Government makes abundantly clear how dangerous to the welfare of mankind is the population explosion now taking place in Asia, Africa and other parts of the world such as Latin America. The report substantiates what has been suspected: the rapid increase is due not to a larger number of births but to a fewer number of deaths. Modern drugs, increased sanitation and a higher standard of living have increased life expectancy in previously disease-ridden areas to a dramatic degree. But this fruit of progress bears its own seed of destruction, as the survey indicates: "If birth rates remain at high levels, economic expansion must eventually be achieved or death rates will be forced up again. In the long run a country can have low death rates with all they imply in the way of economic and social well-being only if a reasonable balance is maintained between population growth and available resources."

The prognosis is clear. Unless the economic and industrial development of a country keeps pace with its rise in population the harvest of partial progress will be even greater misery for untold millions than before. The pressure of a rapidly growing population on the whole social structure of an emerging country impedes the potential rate of development so that the gap between the demand and the food supply becomes constantly wider. To narrow the gap, to enable an underdeveloped country to profit instead of suffer from twentieth century medicine and technology, the country requires a breathing spell. It needs time to exploit its resources and evolve adequate social institutions before it is swamped.

Small wonder that the ominous name of "population explosion" has been given by scientists to what is taking place in India or China. And small wonder, also, that the Catholic Church has reaffirmed its traditional stand in regard to birth control. In a recent statement the Roman Catholic Bishops of the United States denounced what they called a systematic campaign for birth control and particularly "the recently coined terror technique phrase 'population explosion'." The Bishops also opposed any Federal assistance to birth control programs anywhere in the world.

Like every other religious body the Catholic Church has the right to seek obedience to its tenets from its own flock in whatever measure it can; however, when the Catholic Church attempts to influence public policy in the light of its particular dogmas sharp rejoinders are in order. These have not been slow in forthcoming from Protestant clergy and private citizens. The question is not academic. What is at issue is the proper utilization of American foreign aid funds. It would be unfortunate if American financial assistance to countries like India (which are trying to implment an effective population control program) were to be modified or curtailed because of sectarian pressure.

The Draper Committee, appointed by President Eisenhower to study the United States Military Assistance Program, recommended to the President that the United States assist countries it aids economically in formulating programs for population control and in conducting studies to devise practical methods for the countries concerned. This proposal, with all that it implies, has been challenged by the declaration of the Roman Catholic Bishops.

An unhappy and inevitable aftermath of the Bishops' statement is the ensuing wrangle as to the intellectual freedom of a Catholic presidential candidate. Senator Kennedy, while affirming his opposition to birth control, has assured his questioners that if elected president he would act solely in terms of the United States' interest. There is no reason to doubt him. Nevertheless, anti-Catholic bigotry—as much to be deplored as Catholic bigotry—has no doubt received a new lease on life from the Church's intrusion into question of government policy. Those who remember the vicious campaign conducted against Al Smith will dread the recurrence of such a spirit.

Nor can we afford to forget that the social and economic blight of untrammeled population increase is not limited to distant continents. We have seen once proud sections of great American cities transformed into slum areas because underprivileged families have more children than they can care for or house. The social consequences, here and abroad, are of direct concern to every American.

Albert Camus

News from France, January, 1960 writes :

Albert Camus, who was killed in a motor-car accident on January 4, was one of leading French writers of his age. When he was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1957 he was one of the youngest authors to receive this prize, being only forty-four. But he was famous alrealy for something like twenty years. He sprung to fame as far back as 1937 with a volume of incisive essays called "Noces." This collection was first published in Alegeria, and two years later in Metropolitan France by the wellknown publishing house of Gallimard, one of whose directors he was at one time.

He has written essays, novels, plays, and short stories.

Born in Algeria into a very modest working class family, his childhood was spent in one of the poor quarters of Algiers. In his early youth he was a member of the communist party but his sense of revolt was quickly aroused and his adhesion was short-lived. He entered the political arena through journalism, first in Algeria and later in Paris. In 1937 he fiercely championed the cause of Republican Spain and this was the first of the many stands he was to take in favour of liberty and justice in the name of human dignity, which roused him later against the Hitlerite regime and against Stalinism.

During the war, despite very fragile health, he was militant in the Resistance movement and was one of the founders and for some years the leading contributor to the newspaper "Combat." His voice was raised in the great political debates which divided conscience both during and after the war. Not that he believes that a writer should always be intervening in contemporary politics. He has said that such a course will wear him out and prevent him from thinking. The writer, he declares, "should create if he can, and that comes first of all; especially if what he creates

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does not recoil before the problems of his own times"; but "in exceptional circumstances" he should "permit no ambiguity about which side he has chosen." He should refuse, above all, to "dilute the effectiveness of his choice by shrewd hair-splitting or prudent reservation, and should leave no doubt as to his personal intention to defend freedom." It is in this uncompromising spirit that he took the side of the insurgents in the Hungarian revolt.

This rigour, he thought, should apply even more forcibly to Leftist intellectuals, among whom he reckoned himself. In the contemporary world, as he puts it, conformism has fastened on the Left: "It is true that the Right is not brilliant," he said in an interview, "but the Left is in full decadence, a prisoner of words, bogged down in its vocabulary, capable of no other than stereotyped answers, failing consistently to measure up to the reality from which it asserts nevertheless that it derives its laws." "The role of the intellectual," he added, "lies in pointing out that the king is naked when he is naked, and not in describing ecstatically his imaginary robes."

Although for many years an established writer and one of the foremost amongst his contemporaries, and recognized as one of the greatest artist-moralists of our times, Camus was always developing. With regard to him there was in the public mind an expectancy, the wish that he should still add to the artistic brilliance he had shown and to the power of his thought and produce in the future works which would be fully equal to his most outstanding successes.

Reception to Indian Cricket Team

The following are some portions of the reception address by the Chairman of the Council of the East India Association in honour of the members of the India Cricket Team at Overseas House last year and published by **Asian Review**, London, October, 1959 :

We have never entertained a team of cricketers before and, if I may say so, it is a very fine precedent to have set. I hope that others will follow in years to come. But you ought to know, of course, that the team have travelled from Durham this morning and they are going off overseas on Thursday, so it is a real honour that they have found time to come here and meet us. I want to express to them the immense pleasure I have had on something like eleven different days during this summer watching them playing cricket. I have enjoyed every moment of it. I am not going to say that I am altogether sorry that they did not defeat the British eleven. That would not be honest on my part if I said so, but I have enjoyed enormously the sporting spirit in which they have played the game under difficult circumstances in many cases, on ground after ground throughout the country and at the Test Matches. And let me add that I, like many others, not only have seen them with my own eyes but I have also watched them for hours on television.

Cricket is a desperately dangerous game. Nobody knows that better than myself, because my cricket came to an end—my proper cricket came to an end—when I was about sixteen, when some fearfully rough bowler, much rougher than anybody in this room, succeeded in breaking my jaw. Many people have had various kinds of damage done to them at cricket, but I believe that so far I am unique in having had my jaw broken. It might have been serious. Mercifully it did not stop me talking, and I was able to earn a living for life and maintain my family with my voice. I do want to express on behalf of all of you our real sorrow that some of these great cricketers have suffered quite serious injuries over here this summer, and I only hope that I and all of you—much more likely you than me—will live to see these injured cricketers over here again playing with the same dashing spirit which they displayed in the opening games.

We have enjoyed having our guests here this summer immensely. They have given pleasure to thousands and thousands of people in this country who will look back on those days in this glorious summer when they were watching them, with recollections which will never fade from their minds. We hope that we shall see them back again before many years have passed, we do want to thank them for com ing here this afternoon, and we wish them a successful passage home to their own country. I would suggest that our guests should be kind enough to move round and introduce themselves to other people who wish to meet them.

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I, the publisher of the Modern Review, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

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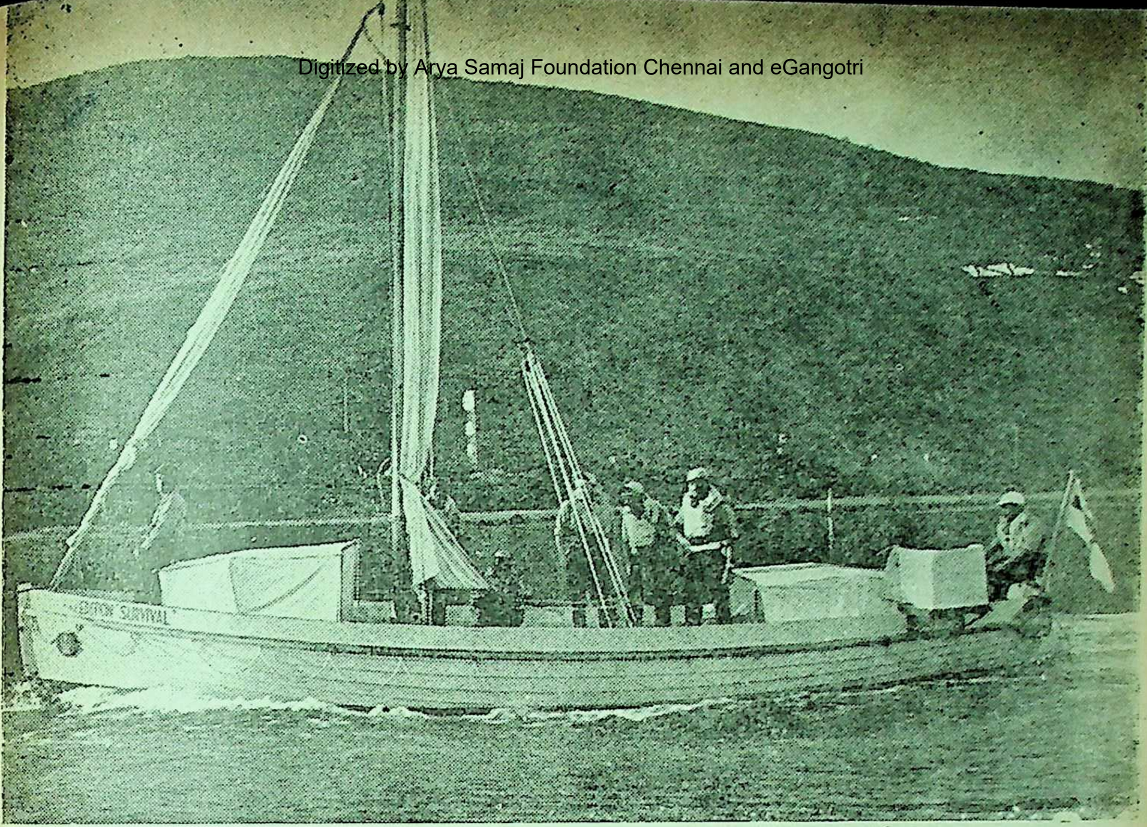
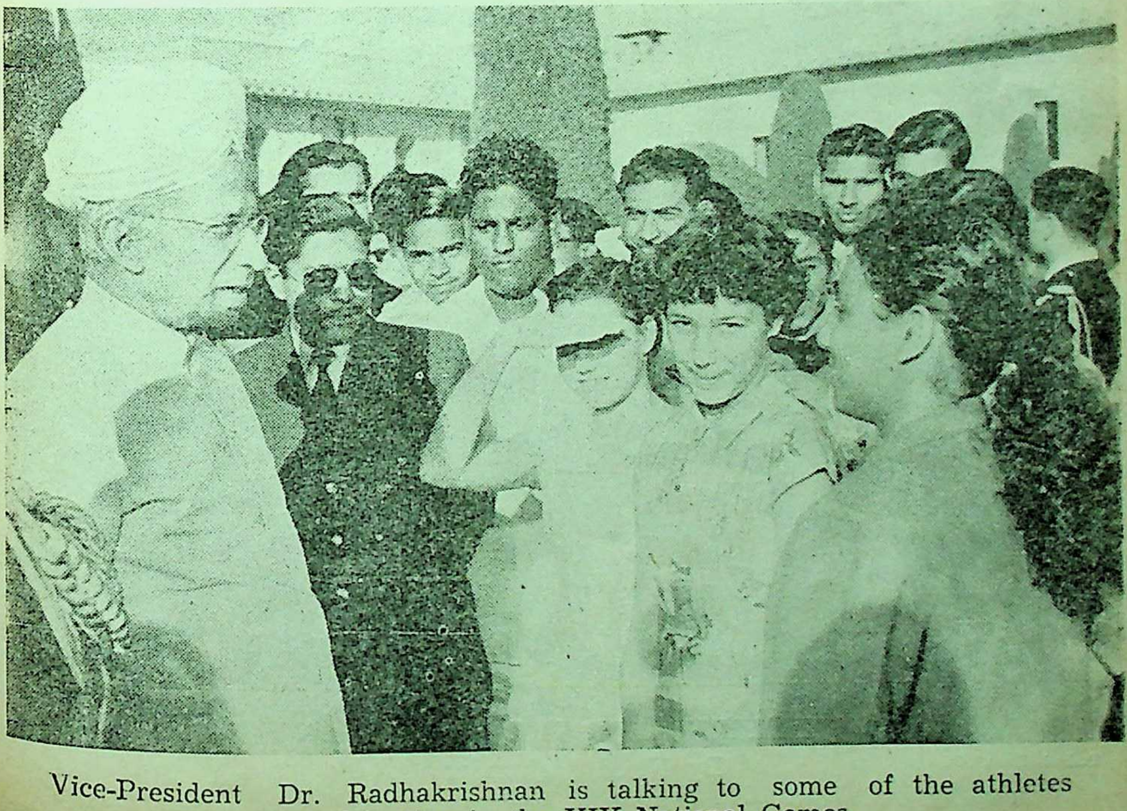
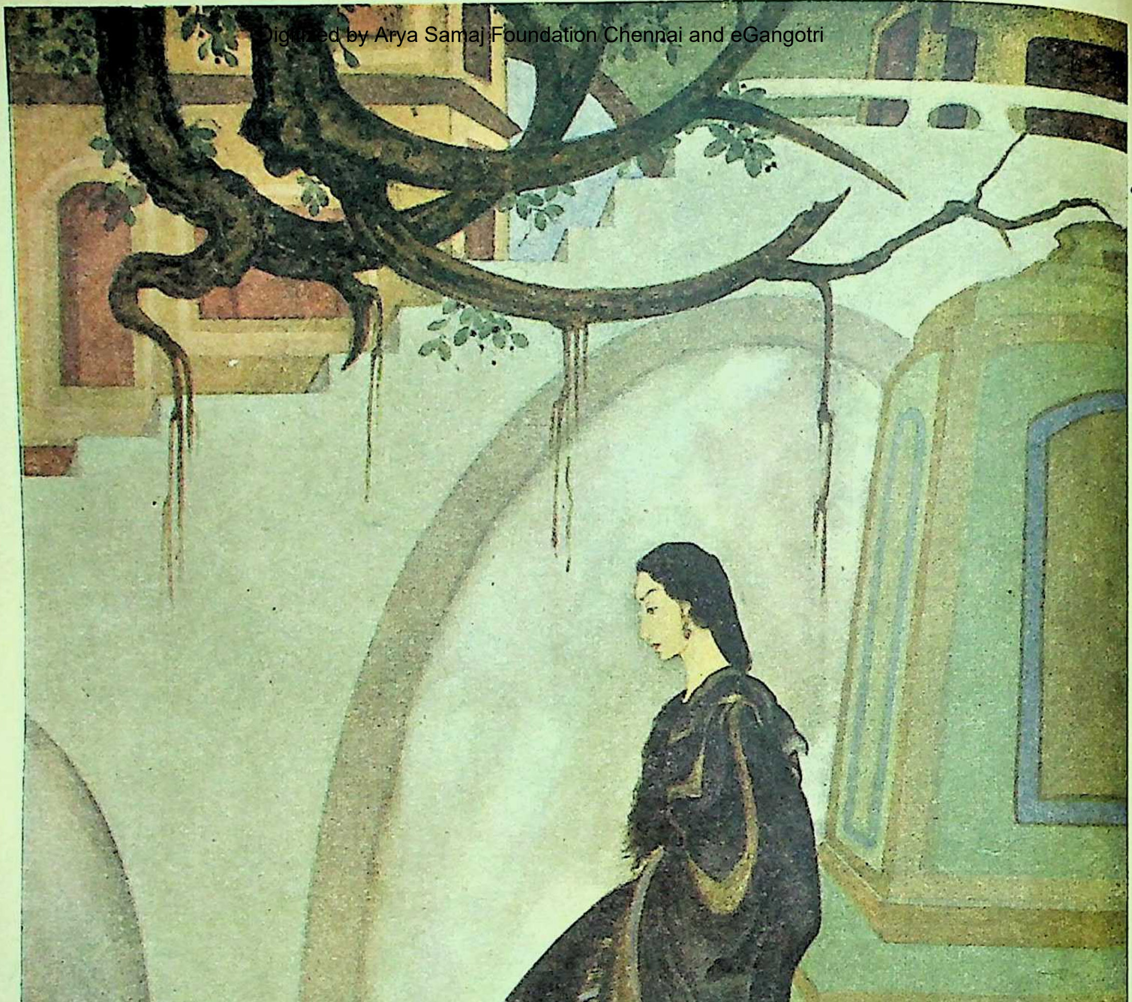


The photograph, taken as the cutter left on the Expedition Survival organised by the Indian Navy, shows the seven-man crew led by Lieut. M. N. Samant



Vice-President Dr. Radhakrishnan is talking to some of the athletes participating in the XIX National Games



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NOTES

The Northern Frontiers

On Sunday, the twentyseventh of March, two South-East Asian Prime Ministers referred to the frontier areas along the Tibetan borders of the Himalayas. The Nepalese Prime Minister, Mr. B. P. Koirala, is reported to have been in a mood bordering on the exuberant. He considered that the Sino-Nepalese border problem was as good as settled for good and he hoped that "this provides a good background for the Nehru-Chou talks." He also remarked that he had noticed a conciliatory mood among the Chinese leaders. He made it clear, however, that the Sino-Indian border disputes were never mentioned in his talks with the Chinese leaders. The Chinese aid to Nepal, he said, had been "most willingly given and most thankfully accepted."

The other Prime Minister, our Mr. Nehru, was in a different mood altogether, when he referred to the border disputes in his address to the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry at New Delhi on March 27. According to the **Statesman** representative, he said that the Indo-China border dispute, which was a long-time problem, had brought about a basic change in the country's relationship with the world and had brought in its train obligations and responsibilities as well as a burden. He is reported to have said further, that he did not believe that a crisis of war was upon India, but the country's frontiers, which had long been quiet, were now "bristling with danger." He did not explain this basic change, but described the country's foreign policy as a "positive, definite and clear-thinking policy of the present and, I hope, of the future." One of the objectives of this policy, he added, was "to avoid hatred."

All the same, since the frontiers were "bristling with danger" the country had to accelerate its economic advance and not slow it down. War, Mr. Nehru added, was a question of industrial might and the production potential of a country.

The difference in the moods of the two Prime Ministers might well be said to denote the conditions "before and after disillusionment." Pandit Nehru still insists that the country's foreign policy is "positive and clear-thinking" though judged by the events on the Himalayan frontiers, it was muddled in the extreme in the past and exceedingly nebulous where the future is concerned. We only hope that Pandit Nehru will take a few advices from those who differ with him, or at least give proper heed to their arguments. If he continues with the same "blind man's buff" method, we shall be placed in a bigger mess than ever. Frankly, we do not believe that our foreign policy has resulted in any positive results where we ourselves are concerned. As regards the indirect results of that policy on the world situation, we think we ought to wake up to the fact that the non-selective and total destructive effect of atomic weapons and the realisation that an atomic war will end in the extinction of friend and foe alike, has had far more effect than our sermons on **Ahimsa.**

As regards the Nepalese Prime Minister's optimism, we only hope that there would be no rude awakening in the future. We seem to observe a definite pattern in the Sino-Nepalese talks.

Chinese Aid to Nepal

The political atmosphere of the Himalayan zone in which are the lands of Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and also long stretches of India proper, is supercharged with Chinese Home and Foreign Policy, by reason of China's sudden realisation of the fact or fiction of Tibet being a part of China. Whether this is based on facts can be best answered by social and physical anthropologists, historians, etymologists, Tibetans and the Chinese. Generally speaking we may say that we have never felt nor believed that China was Tibet or that Tibet was China. Racially, linguistically, culturally and in point of geographical names and socio-political organisation Tibet has always been a separate theocratic kingdom with a mysterious culture which was not of Chinese origin nor had it any counterparts in China proper. The Tibetans are, therefore, as Chinese as they are Indians, and, perhaps, they are more Indian than Chinese. Then China descended upon this little known Himalayan kingdom with her armed forces in order to impose Chinese Communism upon the people of Tibet. The Chinese did not stop there, but spread out in the direction of India and the other border States between India and Tibet and violated territorial rights of other countries in a manner which suggested that the Chinese thought nothing of the rules of behaviour between nations not at war. Several thousand square miles of Indian territory have been occupied by Chinese soldiers and incidents have taken place which point to an arrogant disregard on the part of China of the sovereign rights of other nations.

In such circumstances, Mr. Koirala, Prime Minister of Nepal goes to China, signs border agreements with and accepts economic aid from the Chinese. He does not say that he discussed his plans with the Indian Government at any stage. Rather he strsesed upon his right of unilateral action. The Indian Government also appears to be unconcerned with whatever treaties Nepal may make with China. The whole business is fantastic and is only possible in India.

A. C.

Socialism and Socialism

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, speaking before the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, reiterated some of his faiths and feelings. He said he had faith in planning and he believed in socialism. The quality of the people must be raised, the genius of the people stimulated and they must make a pragmatic approach to their problems. And he said he disliked the vulgar display of wealth by the Indian rich. Taking the different ideas one by one we must say that Pandit Nehru is simultaneously right and wrong in all his statements. We believe that planning is necessary and essential for a country like India. But that does not mean that any kind of planning must be good for India. Pandit Nehru is criticised for his particular kind of planning and not for his faith in planning in general. We think this pattern of planning requires drastic changes. Socialism too is not achieved by a general bureaucratic offensive on the rights of private persons. A responsible type of democracy can be converted to a tyranny by allowing government departments and political parties to play ducks and drakes with the rights of the people. The more there is of official control and interference with the people's freedom, the more there is of socialism, cannot be a logical way of looking at socialism. Pandit Nehru's pattern of socialism has too much pattern and too little socialism in it. The way he is raising the quality of the people is also blatantly visible in the Government departments, the market places, the industries, in the manner business is transacted, licences are obtained, permits are secured, taxes are collected, law and order administered, education carried on and recruitment, appointment, promotions, etc., effected. The people of India are fast degenerating in character and Pandit Nehru is doing everything to hasten the process. His intentions may be other than what his actions produce in results; but then, that cannot exonerate him from his responsibilities. The genius of the people, as far as Pandit Nehru is concerned, is crying in the wilderness. When has the Indian

Government even looked for Indian genius? Had it done so, would there be such ministers, such legislators, such commission agents, such contractors, such heads of organisations as we find in India? The pragmatic approach refused to by the Prime Minister is functionally sterile and purposeful to achieve the opposite of the declared purpose. About the vulgar display of wealth, we have perfect unity of outlook with Pandit Nehru. But he should have also mentioned the vulgar display of asceticism and simplicity indulged in by many Indians. There is also a vulgar display of nationalism, puritanism and a "saintlier than thou" front. This should also have received castigation from the high hands of our topmost V. I. P. (No protocol). Pandit Nehru may with greater advantage practise pragmatism without preaching. We all have a working knowledge of the Congress moral code. Let it now be practised and not merely propounded **ad nauseum.**

A. C.

Meaning of Pragmatic

The Oxford Dictionary gives the following meanings, among others of the word 'pragmatic' as an adjective and of 'pragmatism' as a noun. Pragmatic(al) means meddlesome, dogmatic etc., and pragmatic sanction refers to imperial or royal ordinance issued as fundamental law. Pragmatism means officiousness and pedantry too besides having other meanings. Relating to the affairs of a state or community it means busy and active, especially officiously busy in other people's affairs; interfering and meddling; opinionated dictatorial, dogmatic, common estimation puts an ill character upon pragmatic meddling people. She is as pragmatic and proud as the Pope (examples). Pragmatic was used also in the sense of self-important, doctrinaire and crotchety. (Example) A wise man is not pragmatic, for he declines the doing of anything that is beyond his office. Which . . . may perhaps give me the title of pragmatic and overweening. Swift.

A. C.

The Budget

Our forecast of the Budget has not been far wrong. We thought that the funds required by our large-hearted and lavish Government could never come out of the limited number of pockets of the rich people. The rich are very few and even if they can pay large amounts in direct taxes individually, the sumtotal of their contribution to the State revenues can never be very substantial. So that the poor have to pay for they number in hundreds of millions where the rich are counted in thousands only. Indirect taxes were therefore undoubtedly indicated as far as raising of revenues went. The Finance Minister however did not try to modify the policy of the Government and allowed those conditions to continue which have created unemployment, loss of trade, economic imbalance and a progressive deterioration in the standard of living of the people. Inflation of currency, lack of consumer goods, profiteering, black marketing, etc., have reduced the Indian people to a condition which is worse than any that they have experienced ever before. Our Public Finance is organised on the basis of a number of assumptions which have no factual basis. And there are some principles and ideals which have no justifiable reasons to be there. And that is why we suffer.

A. C.

Control of Bank Credit

The Government of India's credit squeeze has for its declared objective a check on gambling in the share market. This is in keeping with the Government's general policy of moral reformation of all Indians. The high priority that morality obtains in India is really heartening. The total suspension of drinking in Bombay and Madras, the restriction of drinking in hotels excepting in bedrooms in Delhi and the abolition of prostitution in Calcutta excepting in Theatre Road, Camac Street and other unenlightened parts of the city; all go to show how the State in India looks after the souls of its nationals in preference to looking after their creature comforts. We may expect the credit squeeze will do something to reduce the inflation of currency that the Government of India have been carrying on. A cleaner state at the close of the financial year will be a good thing for the Government. Of course, a Government with such high principles never does anything to hide its own indiscretions. So the moral upliftment of the people with special reference to their sinful habit of gambling must be their main target; and if the Government could redeem its prestige incidentally as a by-product of their missionary work, all glory to the Government.

A. C.

Bank Workers and Strikes

Fabian Economists did not believe in wholesale nationalisation of industries. They wanted control over all industries so that none went off the straight and narrow path of social virtue; and they wanted to **own** nationally certain key organisations and essentially monopolistic industries for reasons of national safety and as a wise precaution against private enterprise growing too big for its own or the nation's good. These "principles" of "socialism" have been studied by other nations and many have introduced these ideas in their own economy. India has been no exception. Her pattern of socialism contain many random pieces collected from various pictures and the result has not been either creative in point of economic art or useful for the general well-being of tne people. Banking is an essential part of modern economy. No one can paralyse the banks of the nation without damaging all economic institutions to some extent. The Government of India have gone a good way towards total control of all banking and have also attempted to set up the State Bank of India as the greatest bank of the country. These actions of the Governmnt have no doubt been taken for the general progress of banking in India and for the good of the national economy. But the Government of India did not take full cognisance of the fact that bank workers were an integral part of the institution of banking; and, while th Government thought out in minutest det all the controls, checks, probes, etc., th would enable them to act as the moral preceptors and fathers confessors of the peopl who kept their accounts with the bank o dealt with it for business; they neve thought of putting themselves in stat **parentis** with the people who worked i the bank. The result has been that th State Bank of India has been a great sour of loss and suffering to its clientele an the general public. And all for the u intelligent and lumbering methods followe by the bureaucrats who run the Gover ment of India. Why cannot the Governme do anything without delaying over it i ordinately and long? Why cannot th Government prevent wasteful and injurio strikes in essential institution? Why ca not the Government remove from positio of power and responsibility persons wh take a week to do what can be done in o hour by a wide awake and efficient man And why do they take such delight i carrying out **Post Mortem** enquiries only Is it not of greater advantage to conserv values than to make enquiries after th have been lost? The Government o India have a genius for preserving unwis and wasteful customs and for selectin lines of advancement and progress whic inevitably, land them in trouble!

A. C.

Government by Bullets

The South African Government is o of those throwbacks to the barbarous perio of history, when the rulers could do any thing to the ruled and no questions we asked nor protests tolerated. The patri cians, the nobility and the king or hi agents could do anything without consider ing the rights or wrongs of their action for it was admitted by everybody, on pa of death, that they could do no wron Much as the tyrants of the world disli any curbs on their predatory urges and re cognition of the rights of the comm people who toil and struggle mainly for th benefit of privileged persons; the barbari institutions of unlimited autocracy and u questioned superiority of the few, hav been dying a natural and universally welcomed death. Of the few exceptional countries in which a handful of privileged persons could dominate over entire populations, South Africa stands out as the rarest of all relics of the age of tyranny. In South Africa, the people have no souls to call their own; for only the descendants of Enropean peasants, artisans and soldiers who rule the country, have any political rights. They can order entire communities to demolish their homes and to get out; or they can order the whole population to carry on their persons at all times special licence tokens which they could produce on demand to prove their **bona fides** as the slaves of the white minority. This sort of obnoxious interference with the freedom of the people should cause upheavals and revolutions, and the South African Government would sooner or later get flung out on the dung heap. The prelimineries of this highly desirable consummation are, however, causing uneasy feelings among the civilised peoples of the earth, who do not like to read at breakfast time, about mass murders or sadistic orgies of a statutory variety even when the perpetrators of these are the South African whites. The South Africans have a strange mentality. They are so conscious of the inviolate and totally domestic and private nature of their crimes against race and humanity that they resent any criticism from other nations. They are so full of their own rights that they cannot find any room for human obligations in their mental make up. And they destroy with a heavy hand the rights of their own countrymen while they gibber against external criticism of their tyrannical conduct. If psychiatrists could cure whole groups of evil men of their sinful obsessions, we could do something with the White Savages of South Africa. They would probably engage in cannibalism after this to prove their rights and nobody would be permitted to challenge them for fear of interfering with the domestic affairs of a friendly nation. What the world should realise and admit is that the South African whites are suffering from something akin to mass rabies and that they are diseased in mind and dangerous.

A. C.

Khrushchev Works for Peace

He who forges the sword **usually** dies on it. But if all people forge swords in abundance they may begin to think that they have overdone things. All people cannot relish the idea of nor agree to die on their respective swords just to fulfil a prophecy. They may, therefore, begin to think of a way out. Could swords be used for some other purpose than dying upon? Could they, perhaps, be converted to ploughshares of which there might be a shortage? Such thoughts may arise in the heart of sword makers in the natural course of contemplation of follies.

Mr. Khrushchev has now become an apostle of peace and he is touring the world quite frequently to gain more adherents to his point of view. The latest contact is General De Gaulle, who would make a valuable convert; for he had been a lover of combat and, if he renounced war, there would be one less to contend with in case the world swung over and away from Peace at any time. We have now many war-like nations among us which can no longer think of bloodshed. All over the world, soldiers are swearing that they believe in nothing but **ahimsa**. M. Khrushchev has therefore chosen a most opportune moment in which he could liquidate the war-like organisations like NATO and the rest of them. If France made a separate treaty with the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. would have to think out new solutions for many an old problem of military alignment. M. Khrushchev has however ignored a very ancient piece of wisdom which has helped many missionary in the past to achieve success. It is about charity beginning at home. As far as we know Russia has a number of well-armed nations with her who are her brothers in faith and who have a sort of understanding about common action in case of a **Zihad** (holy war). M. Khrushchev should have first approached M. Mao Tse-Tung to renounce war; for he is the greatest War Lord that China has ever produced. All his arms or a major and essential part are supplied by M. Khrushchev.

A. C.

Family Planning

The Government of India have plans about reducing the population of India. This they wish to achieve by inducing people to have less children. In the Second Plan they had a sanction for 5 crores for organising and arranging family planning. But the money could not be spent due to lack of ideas perhaps about the heads of expenditure. The organisers did not know whether to spend the money on wages of blacksmiths or for keeping carrier pigeons. They also did not know where to go to find a solution to the population problem and their travelling bills therefore were not considerable. Delegations could not be sent as no one knew where to send them. A sad state of affairs! In the Third Plan they have been sanctioned 100 crores of rupees and one cannot contemplate the possibilities of this extravagant gesture without experiencing a strange feeling of impending fall. A Neo-malthusian extravaganza in **Rastrabhasa** slowly unfold itself upon our imagination. Ladies and Gentlemen of Chapra and Gorukhpur articulating awful words and phrases to explain the position to the apothecaries. And some Shakespearian Scholar declares: "The cry is still they come!" We think the real foundation of family planning is in education and a higher standard of living. The 100 crores should be spent on education and on propaganda against child marriage. For the people are quite ignorant still and they marry very early as they did before.

A. C.

Rowdies in Examination Halls

Students sometimes go off the handle and behave like rowdies. This is nothing very serious, unless it becomes a habit and is taken advantage of by persons who attain their selfish ends by making use of the foolish young persons who appear in examinations. It has now become an established fact that these rowdy students break up examinations according to plans made in a cold-blooded fashion by others, who force issues like selection of text-books in this manner. The examination papers are also given in advance to selected students in whom persons in possession of previous knowledge of the papers are interested. The whole thing stinks and the Governor should pass an ordinance and appoint some high-power investigators for the prosecution of persons who carry on the dirty work. Some men are behind all this and unless some of them are sent to jail for long stretches education in W. Bengal will be a tragic farce. There must be discipline among students and they must attend classes, read their text-books, take tutorials and sit for examinations in an orderly manner. If they act as the dupes of grown-up persons, such persons must be removed. We often hear that nobody can do anything to improve conditions in this field. We do not believe this. There are solutions to all problems and, also, persons who can get things done. Of course no one can do anything if useless persons are put in power. To get anything done, first we must remove the people who have definitely proved to be failures or collaborators with anti-social forces. We would suggest that the guardians should combine and demand reorganisation of the Education Department and removal of undesirable text-book writers and publishers, paper-setters, examiners, controllers, printers of examination papers and all others who have made education in West Bengal a pernicious make believe.

A. C.

Employment of Local People

All over the world, businessmen give employment to local people in preference to imported persons for the reason that the locals are cheaper to employ. They also do not require housing, long leave and higher wages on grounds of leaving their homes and separation from their families. In Bengal since the days of the East India Company the Bengalis have got employment in business houses and industries in spite of the fact that many employers have been non-Bengalis in Bengal. During the last few decades however the British took up an anti-Bengali attitude on account of the political activities of the Bengalis. After the British came a number of Indian employers who continued to follow the policy introduced by the British on account of their dislike of Bengalis and because they liked to find employment for their own people whom they imported from other parts of India. This policy has not only aggravated unemployment among Bengalis but has made the housing and food position very bad. It is believed that the imported workers are no better than the Bengalis and that they cost more to their employers who do not mind paying them high salaries out of savings from income tax. These friendly employees of the non-Bengali employers are often the relations of the latter and monies paid to them are often monies earned by the sagacious employers. A discrete probe from the income-tax department into what goes on in the name of payment of high salaries to employees in many firms, may disclose a well thought-out plan of tax evasion. But our Government do not like to interfere with the personal freedoms of tax evaders. Some firms over which the W. Bengal Government have considerable influence by reason of business relations, also carry on an anti-Bengali policy of employment. There are some Bengali managed companies too which curry favour with Delhi by employing non-Bengalis and by placing fairly inefficient types in responsible posts to please high ranking "nepots" and their close associates. The position is bad and beyond control.

A. C.

Dandakaranya

The rehabilitation of Bengali refugees in the wilds of Dandakaranya is still a source of annoyance to the refugees, the State Government, the Central Rehabilitation Ministry and the general public, who pay for all projects in the long run. The Indian Government believe in the maintenance of **Maya.** They do not like reality to take over and disperse the clouds in which untruth and false values have a permanent home.

When the Hindus were pushed out of East and West Pakistan the Government of India should have done one of two things. They could have sent all Muslims out of India into Pakistan and made room for the refugees. Or, they could have occupied by force contiguous areas in Pakistan in which the extra population could settle. But the Government of India would never face facts. They also refused to give back to Bengal the districts that the British had detached from Bengal and joined with Bihar, Assam and Orissa. For that would have reduced the size of Hindi-India. So, they went on to settle Bengalis in the worst possible spots in India where nobody lived before and gave powers to carry out these plans to persons who were not particularly gifted with insight, imagination and the emotiional ability to establish workable human relations. Mr. Khanna has the mentality of a Sergeant Major of the old school and he likes to thump around in a heavy-footed manner. His Bengali counterpart, Mr. P. C. Sen, is suave and polished, but for a purpose which people say is not rehabilitation of refugees. And so about 200 crores of rupees go down the drain. The Indian Government have a genius for picking out and appointing persons to do things, who are usually unfit for the jobs they are expected to do. In the particular work of refugee rehabilitation they not only give power to the wrong men, but also remove from power such persons as are found capable.

A. C.

A New Party

Was it a new Party that India required to put right her ills? Or was it abolition of all parties or the strict limitation of party activities that might have effcted a clean up of the accumulated evils of bureaucratic excesses and idealistic adventures that obstruct good Government and social progress everywhere in India. If the people could be made conscious of their rights and obligations and if they insisted that their representatives would not be permitted to put any party interests above the interests of the people whom they represent, the Congress, the Communist and the other political parties would soon have no occupation and would wind up. Those who want to serve the people would then be free to work for the people wholeheartedly and without any question of party discipline and directives. We agree with some of the views expressed by those who want to form a new party; but we do not think new parties will solve our problems. Rather a new outlook in the people might change the political climate and enable us to put a stop to the exploitation of the people by political parties.

A. C.

Facts Accumulate

The Prime Minister of India must be in a singularly embarrassing position with regard to China. Such observation that she has let us down and has committed a breach of faith does not exonerate him a whit of the loopholes left in dealing with her. To begin with, he tells us that Mr. Chou En-lai gave him to understand when he was at Delhi that China had accepted the McMahon line as the boundary between the two countries. At least it, therefore, establishes beyond doubt that Mr. Nehru felt that there was room for clarification or confirmation on the point. And since it was no talk regarding their domestic affairs nor in the nature of afterdinner pleasantaries, there should have been notes signed by either to indicate what subjects were discussed and conclusions reached. It appears that there is not a scrap of paper in support of Mr. Nehru's view-point. Secondly, as India's Military Intelligence Service reported that China was making a broad metalled road parallel to the McMahon line, whereas India, as before, is left severely to negotiate the most difficult terrain on the Indian side of McMahon line it should have prompted Mr. Nehru to reflect what China was about. The inclusion of large tracts of India as Chinese possession in their map and putting off the promised correction should have, as well, added to the uneasiness of the situation. The meaning became obvious to the poorest understanding when China seized the Tibetan tableland, from where she is now far better posted to mount military operations. It is only when China had gone ahead in her aggression against India—our twenty thousand square miles are already in their possession—that Mr. Nehru told his people how things stood. And then also in tune with his traditional 'but', he sought to mitigate the enormities of the occasion by saying hat these were places, where the Government could not function normally and the military operate with any measure of efficiency. The latter assumption is a gratuitous insult to our military, pitted against the Chinese army carrying on their vandalism in the locality. Therefore, the crux of the question, which should under no circumstance be glossed over, is, 'For whose faults, particularly, things happened in the manner they did to the loss of our territory and prestige?'

It is increasingly difficult to push out of thought in this connection, as Mr. Nehru is now being suspected of a move to surrender at least a portion of Indian territory in Chineese occupation, how for his idealistic gesture Kashmir continues to be a powder keg. It should have been nobody's business to commit unsought that Kashmir's accession would follow a different pattern; and not the ruler, as elsewhere, but the people would decide the question by a plebiscite. Then worse still, as Pakistan was being beaten back pell-mell and 'Indians', says Robert Turnbull in his *As I See India*, 'appeared about to take the last narrow sliver of territory held by Pakistan at the western end of the State's southern half' that Mr. Nehru ordered cease-fire; and India 'had to stop fighting with victory apparently in its grasp.' Even after these two events of great significance, India betrayed a lack of wariness and resolution. It is the indelible print that despite warnings repeatedly given by the late Dr. Syamaprasad Mookherjee, and for which he was placed under duress, Mr. Nehru's over-trustful nature and a flaccid way of thinking drove us very near losing Kashmir altogether. Thanks to the memory of the late Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai—he stepped in between in the nick of time and saved us Kashmir. Pakistan, however, learnt too well to bank upon Mr. Nehru's constitutional 'To be or not to be', when face to face with the necessity for a swift decisive measure. In fact, she took to sniping at us every now and then with results, we forbear to discuss in view of the prospect of an improved relation, envisaged by either Government. As we say this of Mr. Nehru vis-a-vis Pakistan, we must say without the slightest equivocation that we are far from opposing any of his humanitarian actions towards that state. And it is our abiding possession that during the carnage of September-October 1947, when the spirit of brute reciprocity was at its apex, Mr. Nehru, as epidemics began exacting their du penalty, flew to Pakistan large stocks of cholera vaccines. But to China as we were discussing.

Mr. Nehru's last letter to Mr. Chou En-lai, dated 4th March, is suggestive of some cogent thoughts. He thanks the Chinese Premier for accepting his invitation to visit Delhi, 'so that we can have talks about our problems and explore avenues which may lead to a peaceful settlement of these problems'. Too much of a gentleman, a sense of delicacy possibly stands in the way of Mr. Nehru using the word 'aggression', to resolve which Mr. Chou En-lai was being invited.. The expression peaceful settlement is however reminiscent of India's application to U.N.O. against Pakistan. Dr. Josef Korbel of a Commission, U.N.O. at one stage sent to India, Pakistan and Kashmir for an on-the-spot study, notes a rather important point in his *Danger in Kashmir*, namely, that were Pakistan's aggression the heart of dispute, India would have made the application under Chapter VII which deals with 'Aggression' and not under Chapter VI, which is concerned with 'Pacific Settlement of Disputes'. The gist of Dr. Korbel's contention is that since India sought settlement and no thrashing out of the question whether Pakistan committed aggression or not; and since peaceful settlement pre-supposes consent of both, Kashmir hangs. We feel certain, by the way, that the question shall hang on so long there are astute powers in the U.N.O. to run with the hare and hunt with the hound. But notwithstanding the sophistry, implicit in arguing a matter, on which hinge the moral values of a nation, in such a legalistic way, since the point made some noise and induced a belief abroad that India proved slack and inefficient in putting forward her case, Mr. Nehru needs being very careful, nay, unrelenting.

J. B.

Frankenstein Resurrected

To say, as Mr. Nehru has said, that the Congress High Command became aware of the communal flare of the Muslim League's election manifesto in Kerala only after the election was over is more clumsy than fantastic. In fact, he stands inextricably compromised, as Mr. K. M. Seethi Sahib, the Secretary of the Indian Union Muslim League, countered, immediately after, the implications of the above by asserting that the Congress President Mr. Reddy and Congress leaders like Mr. Dhebar and Mr. Patil were fully at one with him to inspire a belief in the local Moslems that they were being invited to participate in the Coalition Ministry in making. He deliberately trod on a tender spot by emphasizing his re-espousal of separate electorate as 'a legitimate and essential device for adequate and proper representation of the Muslim Community'. Representation in terms of a community is a challenge to the basic principle of he Constitution of India and is in line with what led to her dismemberment. The most piquant touch in Mr. Sahib's statement is where he pinpoints that in the last General Election Mr. Nehru complained of inadequate representation of the Moslems in the selection of candidates for the Andhra Assembly by the Congress Committee of the State. It may, after all, be a faulty and no communal selection. There might have been no competent candidates or those otherwise worthy of selection from the Moslem Community. It might, as well, be—we wish it were really so —that they ruled out any selection communitywise. In a delicate matter like this Mr. Nehru could well have given a bit of his mind to the Selection Committee without justifying publicity. Had he exercised a little imagination he would have foreseen what sinister use it could be made of. It is too early to forget how such slipshod utterances were clutched by the Muslim League to constitute the sheetanchor of their demand for Pakistan. And at the Lahore Conference in 1940, the late Mr. Jinnah ripped up the foundations of the old nationalist in him to say that it was a dream for the Hindus and Moslems to evolve a common plank of nationhood. In fact, since now the History of India was at the crucial parting of ways; and the Moslems were led to live, move and had their whole being pitilessly bent on the hard bitter core of this new revealation. Irritating dissensions glided in the course of events into sanguinary debacles. And as Britain left India after breaking her by a chain of Ulsters, it is noble and manly on the part of India to live down the shattering past of a long-drawn pogrom in order to start anew with Hindus and Moslems of India as one people. It is, therefore, absolutely inicumbent upon every one, who owes allegiance to India, to stand loyally by the creedal enforcement of one Nation. To do otherwise is an act of treason.

The naivety and levity with which Mr. Seethy Sahib has sponsored separate electorate once again leads us to scan if he has at all realised how the Separate Electorate proved the seed-bed for the fratricidal division of India, and what colossal misery and complications it has brought in its trail. That question is finally laid to rest by His Highness the late Aga Khan himself, who led the deputation for separate electorate in 1906. "These were critical years", says he in his *Memoirs,* "in that vast complex process, which brought about in little more than forty years the partition of the Indian sub-continent into two separate states Bharat and Pakistan." In the circumstances, it deserves to be critically examined whether the Congress have wittingly, unwittingly or in spite of themselves have given a fillip to the Muslim League to stage a come-back with the same old destructive Separate Electorate. In West Bengal it has already made a leeway for a foothold and forum. It has, in fact, put up a powerful plea and looks pretty well successful in luring the Moslems that since the Congress had, without qualification, made use of the Indian Union Muslim League to win Muslim support in the Kerala election, why should it not be reared up on sure foundations? Mr. Seethy Sahib, for all it means, has been elected Speaker of the Kerala Assembly.

J. B.

Uneasy Co-existence

A former Chief Minister of East Pakistan is being prosecuted for corruption before a special tribunal at Dacca. To prove the charge, the Government has adduced evidence to establish his weakness for power and what he did to placate parties supporting his Ministry. In the concrete, he allowed the sale of rice from Government stocks at Rs. 10/- against the prevailing rate of Rs. 15/- per maund in September-November 1955, even if it was done with the consent of the Central Government. He also expanded his Cabinet from ten to eighteen members not strictly in public interest but to sustain his majority. As an alternative to the trial, the Chief Minister was given the choice to retire from public life and live in tongueless obscurity for six years. Assuming that the prime motive of the present Pakistan Government is to weed out potential rivals, there is no getting away from any Rule now or hereafter from the healthy robust principle the people are being imbued with there. It is bound to make for a clear public life. All decent folk shall have reasons to feel grateful to those anywhere in the world, who have the boldness to enunciate them and translate them into practice.

What, however, worries us is the term co-existence for any democracy if affinity purpose and outlook is a necessary condition such. We have no precise idea of other countries. But we do not feel happy to think of our own contrast at the present moment, when charges of corruption against the high-ups of administration are the rage of the day. As we are these reflections, we are somewhat taken aback by what our daily contemporary the *Jugantar* with which so vitally associated is a Minister West Bengal, says in its editorial of 15th March under the caption Food Adulteration. We gather that a few years back, the Municipal Magistrate of Calcutta fined two merchants for adulterated mustard oil brought from U.P. and, what some extent is the only deterrent, ordered the destruction of the large stock seized; that Dr. B. C. Roy, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, at the intercession of the Chief Minister of U.P. Mr. G. B. Pant, now the Home Minister of Indian Union, had the stock released for the owner. It is too shocking to be true. We believe that there must be some links missing somewhere. But since a rather ministerial paper rakes up the matter at a time, when the atmosphere suffocating with the charges of corruption, behoves all concerned to explain what it is.

J. B.

The Voice of Africa

Dr. Kwamer Nkrumah's broadcast to the nation at Accra, Ghana, on March 7th, this year wherein he stated that the keynote of the proposed Republican Constitution of Ghana was ' man, one vote,' and the unity of Africa; should be looked upon as a forecast of the shape things to come. For the face of Arica is changing rapidly, and even the most confirmed Imperialist cannot deny that the "easy" days of Colonialism are over. Dr. Nkrumah's advocation of a Federation of States in Africa is not anything new, even in Africa, because some plan of federation has always been afoot in Colonial Africa—only these have been piecemeal. The greatest champion of Imperialism, Cecil Rhodes, dreamt of a closely federated South and Central African territories, under a benevolent British jurisdiction of course. In fact all the British Colomies, comprising 22 territories, are grouped under 6 Administrative units (this included Ghana prior to Self-Government).

In spite of this logical growth of federated units, however, critics of African nationalism, and hangers on to thoughts of Empires, maintain a solid scepticism regarding this obvious solution to African problems. The age-old Colonial attitude of condescension to the incapable and inefficient Native is of course the bulwark of Imperialists, while the traders and businessmen who made hay while the sun shone, could not even dream of co-operating with a free Africa. In this Century, after two Great wars, the thoughts of all right-thinking men are in favour of giving freedom to all oppressed races. Many Empires have fallen, and some have gone with goodwill being maintained on the sides of the ruler and the ruled. India is the greatest example of this, and probably there is more business going on here today than previously.

Why then should Africa be an exception in this changing world of ours ? No true democrat will dispute the right any nation or people have, to govern themselves, even if that governmnt is not fool-proof, for which government today, whether white, black, yellow, or brown, is completely free of fools? So "Fool" Africa has a right to make her own economic, social, and political messes, because in any case, the white men have borne thir "burden" of enligntenment and efficiency so well there, that it is difficult indeed for anyone to beat their solutions to humanitarian, economic, or political problems. As far as the first consideration goes, which African can inflict greater barbarity than those suffered under Leopold of Belgium's regime of "red rubber," and even the great economists of Great Britain weren't proof against "mere scheming groundnuts"! Philosophically of course, the new concepts of Apartheid of white South Africa, are beyond the understanding of all coloured races, particularly Africans, to whom after all Africa belongs. Since we find thus that "superior" brains and ability have not always guarenteed success or rightness of action in Africa, we cannot understand the reluctance to let the poor African paddle his own canoe.

A further objection forwarded against federation is that the varied races of Africa cannot pull on together. Why should it be impossible for various types of Africans only to federate when all types of Europeans and Asiatics have succeeded in doing so? The U.S.A. consists of 50 states and 6 territories with peoples of all countries—English, Continentals, Chinese, Japanese with a few Red Indians thrown in, while the U.S.S.R. has 15 constituent republics of peoples of varied European and Asiatic races. As for India, numerically she has 14 states and 7 territories with one of the largest populations in the world, and a very varied population it is too, comprising as it does, Aborogines, head-hunters, Baniyas, Pundits, Harijans, Dravidakhazagam and Panjab Subas galore.

So let those advocates of *Divide et Impera* be warned by the voice of Africa, Nkrumah, when he said, that "The Government realises that the present frontiers of Ghana like so many others on the African Continent, were drawn merely to suit the convenience of the Colonial Powers who divided Africa between themselves during the last century. For the object of this draft Constitution is to provide firm, stable and popular Government in Ghana, so that Ghana can assist in achieving a union of African States and territories." (The *Statesman's* report of Nkrumah's speech. 7-3-'60)

L. C.

On the War-path

Mr. Rajagopalachari has all along distinguished himself in Indian politics by his acumen and sharp individuality. He is ideologically non-ideological. He was the spearhead of the orthodox non-co-operators opposing stalwarts like C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru and had them foiled at the 1922 Gaya Congress. He pressed Gandhijee to concede Pakistan and felt no compunction to suggest leaving Bengal and Punjab in the lurch. There have been people to say that were he listened to, India would have been spared the orgies of cannibalism, sublimely forgetful of the fact that she would have thereby lost the whole of Punjab and Bengal. And is not the blood spilled worth what India was able to retain ? His trucculent opposition to Deshabandhu C. R. Das and Netajee Subhas Bose,, which made him a **bete noire** to a section of our people, is at the same time to be viewed with the vast tribute he paid to Surendranath Banerjea, so much as to say that 'in the pre-Gandhi period Surendranath Banerjea was the Indian National Congress and the Indian National Congress was Surendranath Banerjea'. It underlines his make-up and is to some extent an indication that revolutionary politics is not his forte. His attitude to the 1942 Quit India Resolution is definitely apathetic. All the same the Congress, as India wrought her Freedom, gave him his dues in full ample measure. The Governorship of West Bengal, Governor-Generalship of India, Chief Ministership of Madras, Ministership at the Centre and the blue ribbon **Bharat Ratna** were his in succession with a pension to boot. Discretion as the better part of valour, all these years he never criticised the Congress or spoke anything in disparagement of the head of the Congress Government. But now that he has retired from service—Is there anything in it which has fermented ?—either has become vicious and he must fight it tooth and nail, for otherwise, there is no chance of a 'good government' in the country.

Mr. Nehru is a socialist since when he entered politics. Mr. Rajagopalachari, however, tires of him and his socialism, only since when some vested interests have taken charge of the powder behind the shots of private sector in Industry. It is, by the way, for the Prime Minister of India to reflect to what extent this support of his following in the Cabinet is contingent on his capacity to distribute purse and patronage. It is no pleasure, but we have to say by way of warning that the mass of people have taken Mr. Rajagopalachari's change of front in this light. With a clarity of outlook which once marked him, he is now generating more heat than light; and w sincerely hope that such embarrassin panegyric as to call him 'Our Bernar Shaw' is no incentive to spend hi dynamism in bellicosity.

Within the brief compass of this Note we cannot discuss his new-fangled politica philosophy, for which he has developed, a Messiah complex. This much, howeve will suffice that with regard to his tirade against Communism, his 'enemy No. 1,' h is making the late Mr. Foster Dulles gre with envy in his grave. Let us, howeve remind him how Gandhijee viewed th matter. "I would," he said, "be a hundre per cent Communist myself—if Marx final stage were the first stage and Lenin's economic ideals were put immediately into practice." In other words, h contemplates the beginning of Marxis millennium in the State withering awa not by blood-bath but as the **raison** d'etr of a new order; and secondly, by puttin into practice, without much mincing of th matter, Lenin's economic ideal, 'From ever man according to his capacity to every ma according to his needs.' Gandhijee wa academically thin, but dowered with transcendental gift of realisation; and it our great misfortune that he had not ha the time to elaborate his thesis.

J. B.

The Yearly Fiasco

We do not know if it is shame, sorro or humilation which afflicts us the most we have to see year after year what w should call fiasco in University Examinations. A good number of things have combined to bring about such a state of thing It is not peculiar to any particular University but is growing fast into a festering so in the social life of India. No remedy possible of being thought out without thorough grasp of the contributory facto A probe is urgently called for.

Confining for the present to the upr arising out of Civics 2nd paper and Phys 2nd paper in the Intermediate Examinati of the Calcutta University, let us coo and dispassionately apply ourselves to question whether the questions have been set beyond the syllabus. If the charge has no legs to stand upon nor the questions are unusually stiff as to be incapable of justice being done to all of them during the time limit, it is well and good; the entire blame in that case is to be laid at the door of the students and is to be tackled under the category of student indiscipline. If, on the other hand, the limitations of the syllabus have not been respected by the paper-setters, nothing more callous, more perverse can be imagined. Whoever is found guilty of this first wrong must be dealt with suitably as also being guilty of all consequential wrongs. As for the system of setting questions to test the intelligence of the students, it is to be observed to what extent it is a departure from what was all along in vogue. Any violent departure entails complications and is bound to be resented. The next point with regard to the testing of intelligence of an examinee in the course of three hectic hours, it must have to bear a close relation to the teaching in colleges. Let there be a remorseless searching of hearts. A student of the 2nd Year Class, particularly, can have the benefit of his teachers for hardy ninety days for the year, during which he has to complete the left-over courses. How many colleges do at all complete the courses? What if any is the scope and opportunity for a teacher, in such circumstances, to discuss lessons in their various aspects such as to be able to rouse his students' deep interest in the subject, so that he is inspired with a sense to pursue it in his own way? It is atrocious to teach them in one way and examine them in a diametrically opposite way. Chagrin and discontent in such conditions is inevitable. It will be a mistake to take the outburst as any cutaneous eruption. It needs being treated deep down the skin.

J. B.

Short Memory

Dr. B. V. Keskar, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, merits appreciation for intending to bring out short biographical sketches of our patriots. That the public should have an opportunity of purchasing such books at a comparatively cheap price is welcome. The names, possibly tentatively published for the first thirteen, leave however, room for speculation as to what precisely has prompted him to give them the priority. Anyway, the subject is a very delicate one and we forbear to spin it out to any length. All the same, we must say that we shall very much regret to see Surendranath Banerjea omitted in the first selection for, amongst the following reasons, the principle, first come, first served.

In a nutshell, Surendranath's was the initiative and lead to found the Indian Association in Calcutta. Early as 1876, he refused to christen it the Bengal Association, as pressed by some of the then stalwarts, because, as he said, they would work for an all-India federation. His all-India tours over the Civil Service regulations contain in them, as Sir Henry Cotton observes in his **New India,** 'the seed of the Indian National Congress.' In 1883, he convened in Calcutta the National Conference to emphasize the need of a forum for representative Indians to chalk out a line of action in matters that concern the people vis-a-vis the Government. Wilfred S. Blunt says in **India Under Ripon** that this conference is the first stage towards a National Parliament. In the second session of the Indian National Congress in 1886—Lord Duffrin-sponsored first Congress of 1885 did not so much as even invite him to attend—he declared from the Congress platform, "Self-Government is the ordering of Nature; and it is not new to us." He raised the Congress from the stage of prayer to one of Demand and he signalised his first presidentship at Poona by protesting against 'anything', that would 'steriotype on political servitude'; and warned, 'We cannot afford to palter with our birthright or sell it for a pottage.' In the 1897 Amraoti Congress, because of some of the very influential leaders of Western India, there would be no resolution on Tilak's incarceration. But Surendranath made ample compensation when speaking on the detention of Natu brothers, "The Nation," he said, "is in tears for Tilak", and struck his note of manly challenge to say, "Though I am here physically, my soul is in jail attuned with Tilak's." The house rose to a man in one spontaneous outburst—'Tilak Maharaj Ki Jai.' With regard to his contributions to the making of the Congress a power to reckon with, it is enough to say that Sir Narayan G. Chandravarker said, in reference to this controversy as to whom its fatherhood is to be assigned, "If a father be found out, we must not hesitate to say that Surendranath is the grandfather—he is the father of our national consciousness." In confirmation of the above it is as worthwhile to recall what Sree Rajagopalachari said in the first lap of our freedom on the floor of the Calcutta Senate Hall, November, 1948"—In the pre-Gandhi period Surendranath Banerjea was the Indian National Congress and the Indian National Congress was Surendranath Banerjea." At all events, there need be absolutely not a breath of demur to the fact that he dauntlessly spanned its teething period and this how the leaders of today started with a bank balance. It is, again, the epic leadership that ushered in the political renaissance in Bengal, the magnitude of which made Gopal K. Gokhale, the true gentleman he was, say, 'What Bengal thinks today, India thinks tomorrow.' The evening of his life was strewn with heated controversy and passions ran high. But sixteen years after his death, as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was unveiling his statue at the Calcutta Esplanade, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said, "There is not a single weapon we (non-co-operators) have used which does not originally belong to the armoury of Surendranath Banerjea." Popularity in politics is too frail a reed to lean upon; and it is a blunder to assess a man's place in history by counting how many tongues cheered him or jeered him. Possibly, the point that counts is what factor he was in the changes of his country. Judged from this standard, there is hardly, **in point of time,** a more striking figure in Indian politics. And it behoves our countrymen to read, reread and inwardly digest what Gandhijee meant by his tribute, remarkable for its depth and serenity. It was 1926—the days of Non-co-operation's stress and strain; from the southern end of Bhawanipur, Calcutta, he walked 16 miles to pay Surendranath a visit. Pressed hard to take a car, he said, "I am on my pilgrimage—a car is a misfit."

In our last December, January and February issues, we have discussed by thumbnail sketches Tilak, Gandhi and Banerjea to emphasize their distinctive contributions, all coalescing to constitute the lifeline of our national endeavours for Freedom. We should deem it our religious duty to utter this note of warning that nothing of party or province or the particular views of this or that man should even in a remote manner taint the selection and presentation of our subjects of memoir. Dr. Keshkar's is a very very solemn responsibility. He has to prove equal to the occasion.

J. B.

Algeria

While the rest of the world is in a state of uneasy speculation where the cold war is concerned, something far more ominous is looming over Africa. The following extract from the **New York Times** of March 6 will illustrate our point. We do not know why General de Gaulle has thus veered away from the path of peace, but it bodes evil, both for France and for Algeria:

> The French army command in Algeria has bitterly opposed any settlement of the nationalist rebellion short of full military victory over the nationalists. In 1958, when the army put General de Gaulle in power in France, it looked to him for that victory. De Gaulle has been unable to produce it. The war, under way for more than five years, has cost France 13,000 soldiers and military victory is still not in sight.
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> Six months ago de Gaulle proposed a solution based upon a cease-fire and self-determination for the Algerian population of 9,000,000 Moslems and 1,000,000 Europeans. Since then many of de Gaulle's officers have turned against him. The cli-

max came five weeks ago when army units openly sympathized with the Rightist insurrection against de Gaulle.

Last week de Gaulle went to Algeria to mend relations with the army and reassert his control over his officers. In three days of closed sessions at army command posts, the French President made a series of speeches which caused considerable confusion in Paris and other Western capitals.

On Thursday, de Gaulle was quoted as saying that "there will be no Dienbienphu in Algeria"—a reference to the defeat that brought about France's evacuation from Indo-China. He was also reported to have said France would remain in Algeria and the Algerians would be asked to choose the form of her continued presence: "France must not leave. She has a right to be in Algeria. She shall stay." In other words, de Gaulle seemed to be saying, his policy of self-determination does not mean that France will accept Algerian independence. His statements brought rejoicing among the army and the European settlers who want to keep Algeria French, and consternation among the Algerian Moslems.

But on Friday de Gaulle let it be known that he also opposes the "integration" of Algeria and France—the course which the army favors as a means of submerging the Algerian Moslems in a French majority. He was quoted as saying: "Separated from France, Algeria would not be able to live; on the other hand, the Algerian Moslems cannot be Frenchmen from Provence or Britany." De Gaulle has indicated he favors the establishment of some kind of federated Algeria with local autonomy and continued close links with France.

On the other hand, de Gaulle evidently realizes that such a solution is not now in prospect. Again and again he was quoted as telling his officers last week that "the Algerian problem will not be solved for a long time" and that the Algerian nationalists were not likely to accept a cease-fire but would have to be defeated in the field.

His tour of Algeria and the statements he made came on the heels of a new statement by the nationalists. On Monday, Ferhat Abbas, President of the Algerian Provisional Government which was set up by the nationalists, announced that they would negotiate a cease-fire only on condition that "the French Government . . . . agree to talks on the guarantees of a free referendum."

In effect, M. Abbas was saying France would have to discuss political conditions with his regime—a step de Gaulle had long since barred on the ground that negotiating with it "would be tantamount to building it up as the only valid representative (of the Algerians) and to elevating it in advance to being the Government of the country."

Taken together, the statements of de Gaulle and M. Abbas last week appeared to foreshadow a long war. The prospect of continued fighting contains little hope for either side since neither appears to be able to win a decisive military victory.

In Paris, the developments came as a shock to many circles which had been hoping for a negotiated settlement with the nationalists. French officials insisted that de Gaulle had not altered his basic policy of self-determination. But members of the National Assembly took a different view. Rightist circles claimed de Gaulle was finally coming around to their view—that there can be no peace until the French army has crushed the nationalists and that an independent Algeria is out of the question. Center and Leftist circles expressed concern that de Gaulle had, at the very least, changed the emphasis of his policy. Correspondents expressed frank perplexity over where de Gaulle's statements left the situation.

Sino-Nepalese Agreement

The **Statesman** reports as follows:

Kathmandu, March 25.—Nepal and China have agreed to demarcate their border scientifically along the traditional line, says **P.T.I.** To do this, they have agreed to set up a joint commission to which will be referred any differences that may exist now.

This was agreed to by the Prime Ministers of the two countries, who signed an agreement in Peking on March 21.

Both countries would demilitarize their common frontier to a depth of 20 kilometres on either side.

Talks for a treaty of friendship and peace will be held in Kathmandu when Mr. Chou En-lai comes here.

The two Prime Ministers agreed that there were no Sino-Nepalese border disputes except a few slight differences which should be settled in a friendly manner.

Their joint communique disclosed an agreement to open diplomatic missions in each other's capitals.

The economic agreement gives Nepal Chinese aid of Rs. 10 crores in addition to the aid China gave in 1956.

The border agreement declared that the contracting parties have decided to determine concretely the boundary between the two countries in the following manner:

1—In sections where the delineation of the boundary line between the two countries on the maps of the two sides is identical, "the boundary line shall be fixed according to the identical delineation on the maps of the two sides."

The joint committee will send out joint survey teams composed of an equal number of persons from each side to conduct on-the-spot surveys and erect boundary markers. The territory north of the boundary line in these sections "will conclusively belong to China, while the territory south of the line will conclusively belong to Nepal, and neither contracting party will any longer lay claim to certain areas within the territory of the other party."

2—In sections where the delineation of the boundary line between the two countries on the maps of the two sides is not identical, whereas the state of actual jurisdiction by each side is undisputed, the joint committee will send out joint survey teams composed of an equal number of persons from each side to conduct surveys on the spot, determine the boundary line and erect boundary markers in these sections in accordance with concrete terrain features (watersheds, valleys, passes, etc.), and the actual jurisdiction by each side.

3—In sections where the delineation of the boundary line between the two countries on the maps of the two sides is not identical and the two sides differ in their understanding of the state of actual jurisdiction, the joint committee will send out joint teams composed of an equal number of persons from each side to ascertain on the spot the state of actual jurisdiction in these sections, make adjustments in accordance with the principles of equality, mutual benefit, friendship and mutual accommodation, determine the boundary line and erect boundary markers in these sections.

The aid grant will include equipment, machinery and materials, and other commodities, adds **Reuter** from Hongkong.

Chinese technicians and experts will be sent to Nepal to help "in the construction of the items of aid to be specified under the present agreement." Nepalese students will also be trained in China.

The communique said the Chinese aid would not include the remaining £3 million provided under the 1956 agreement, which has not yet been used by Nepal.

It said: "The two sides held frank and free discussions on matters of common interest, in particular the question of consolidating and further developing friendly relations."

Mr. Koirala, who also saw Mr. Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, during his stay, invited Mr. Chou to visit Nepal.

Mr. Chou En-lai accepted the invitation with pleasure, the communique said. "The two sides agreed that they would discuss and sign the treaty of peace and friendship between the two countries during Mr. Chou En-lai's visit to Nepal."

SOME ASPECTS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

By M. C. CHAGLA,
Ambassador of India to USA

A Constitution of a country does not spring ready-made like Minerva from the head of Jove. It is either the result of a revolution or a part of the continuity of its history. If it is the result of a revolution, the Constitution bears traces of the revolutionary ideals of the people. If it is the result of mere evolution, then it gives indications of its past history. In the case of India, whose Constitution was enacted in 1949, it was the result both of a peaceful revolution led by Mahatma Gandhi and also the result of transfer of power by Great Britain which meant that there was no break in the continuity of its history.

A Constitution also embodies the aims and aspirations a people seek to achieve and the mechanism by which that can be done. Our Constitution graphically and eloquently in its preamble lays down the objectives for which the Constitution was enacted and these are:

To constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic; to secure to all its citizens social, economic and political justice; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation.

Our Constitution sets up a Democratic State. The democratic form of Government requires that ultimately the popular will must prevail. It is impossible for people directly to govern themselves and, therefore, the system of representative Government is devised and our representative institutions are based upon adult suffrage. Every adult, man and woman, in India has the vote and they elect their representatives to Parliament. In our last elections millions of people in India (out of total electorate of 193 million, 121 million voted in the General Elections in 1956) went to the polling booths and recorded their votes and hundreds of observers from foreign countries paid a tribute to India that the elections held were completely free. How free they were you can judge from this instance that in the small State of Kerala, the Communist Party was elected to power in the teeth of the opposition of the Congress Party which is in power and which governs the country through our Parliament in Delhi. The Congress Party could have easily prevented a Communist victory if it had 'rigged' the elections, but to its credit it refused to do so.

American and British Models

We had to decide whether we should adopt the American or the British model of representative Government. In the British model, the Government is a part of the Legislature and is responsible to the Legislature and continues in power only so long as it has its confidence. In the United States, there is a separation of powers and the Executive is an irremovable Executive. Your President is elected by the people and he continues in office for four years irrespective of whether he has the confidence of the Congress or not. As you know, today, although the President was elected by the Republican Party, the Democratic Party is in a majority both in the Senate and in the House of Representatives.

In another important respect, we followed the American example and not the British. In this country and in India the Constitution is the supreme law of the land. All authorities must function under it and must be loyal to it. Under the British Constitution, Parliament is sovereign and can pass any law, the only limits to its sovereignty being those of practicability and reasonableness. An important consequence follows from the Constitution being supreme. If the Constitution is supreme, the Executive and the Legislature must be kept within constitutional bounds and must not be permitted to transgress the limits set by the Constitution. In India, as in the United States, this function has been assigned to the Judiciary. In England, however important the Judiciary may be and however high its traditions, it must bow before the Sovereign Parliament. It has no right to consider the competence of Parliament to pass any law or to consider the constitutionality of any law. In the United States and in India, the position is entirely different. The Judiciary in America and in our country have been armed with the powerful weapon of judicial review. It can scrutinise every law passed by Parliament or the State Legislature to determine its constitutionality and, if the Legislature has exceeded its powers or overstepped its limit, the law can be declared void and inoperative.

Another important respect in which we have followed the American model is in writing into our Constitution a Bill of Rights similar to the provisions of your Constitution. Our Constitution calls them Fundamental Rights. These are rights guaranteed to all citizens and, in some cases, even to those who are not citizens. These rights are to be looked upon as inalienable rights of an individual which every human being is entitled to enjoy if he is to maintain his human dignity. They deal with equality before law, prohibition against discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth, equality of opportunity in matters of public employment, right of freedom of speech and expression, right to form associations or unions, right to acquire, hold or dispose of property, right to practise any profession or to carry on any occupation, trade or business, right not to be deprived of life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law, right to freedom of conscience and to freely profess and practise religion, right to one's own culture and to study in any educational institution, right to be paid compensation for compulsory acquisition of property.

Rights of the Individual

In the modern complex society, conflict always arises between the rights of the individual and the security and interests of the State. When the State pursued a **laissez faire** policy, the individual was left alone to pursue his own path and to manage his own affairs, but in the modern State which is a Welfare State and which looks after the welfare of its citizens, there is inevitably more and more encroachment upon the rights and activities of the individual. The most difficult problem of today is to draw the proper line between the conflicting claims of the State and the individual and to secure that the all-powerful State does not overstep this line. It may be said that in every case the rights of the individual must be subordinated to the social good. On the other hand, it may be equally cogently argued that the social good is determined by the State and that what the State thinks to be the social good may not necessarily be the social good envisaged by all the individuals inhabiting the State. It may also be argued that there are certain individual rights which are so fundamental and on which depends the very dignity of the human soul that no interests of the State or even the security of the State can be permitted to violate these rights.

Our Constitution has tried to solve this difficult problem in a very practical and, on the whole, satisfactory manner. The Legislature has been given the power to make laws which may contravene these fundamental rights if the contravention is in the interests of the public order, security of the State, public morality or maintenance of friendly relations with a foreign State. The Judiciary are constituted the custodians of these fundamental rights. Whether the restrictions imposed by the Legislature upon fundamental rights are reasonable restrictions or not is made a justiciable issue and by making it justiciable, the Constitution has placed in the hands of the Judiciary tremendous powers. It is not possible to deprive the citizens of any of their fundamental rights by a majority in the Legislature. The Legislature is controlled by the Judiciary and every citizen has been given the right to challenge any legislation or any act of Government or its officials which tends to deprive him of any of these rights and it is for the

Judiciary to determine whether the challenge is justified or not.

It has been urged with considerable force that this power of judicial review may act as a serious impediment to important social and economic legislation which India may desire to carry through in order to fight poverty, in order to do social justice, in order to raise the standards of its people and to achieve economic independence. It has been pointed out that the Courts of Law tend to be technical and may invalidate legislation on narrow theoretical grounds overlooking the larger public good and, therefore, regret has been expressed in certain quarters that our Constitution did not establish the sovereignty of Parliament and make Parliament the custodian of fundamental rights rather than the Judiciary; because it is urged that Parliament is the best judge of what legislation is necessary and to what extent legislation should trespass upon individual rights. But, our Constitution makers felt and quite rightly felt that it would be dangerous at the very inception of the new State to give uncontrolled power of legislation to the Legislature. It was realised that for a long time to come only one party would be in power with hardly any opposition and that democracy in India might have been imperilled if a single party was given the power to ride roughshod over individual rights and to ignore the protests of those who did not belong to that party. Therefore, even at the risk of slowing down the progress of the country, in the interests of freedom and democracy, an independent impartial authority was constituted to act as the arbitrator between the individual and the State and to adjudicate upon the rights and liberties of the former and the security and the interests of the latter. It is, therefore, that you find in India today that although we have launched upon a great adventure of industrialising our country and of bringing prosperity to our people, we are doing it democratically through democratic processes without regimenting our people and without sacrificing the freedom of the individual.

The people of the United States can well understand and appreciate the importance of the Judiciary and the power of judicial review given to the Judges. The Supreme Court here exercises that power and every citizen here feels that the Supreme Court is the protector of his rights and liberties and that the Congress cannot pass any law and the Government here cannot do anything which would in any way curtail those rights of the American citizens which are safeguarded by the American Constitution. The citizen of India has the same feeling with regard to the Judges and the Courts in India. It is essential that if the Judges are to play this important role satisfactorily, they should be completely independent of the Legislature and the Executive and that its integrity and impartiality should be beyond question and should be accepted as such by the public. Therefore, under our Constitution, the Judges are irremovable and are, in no way, controlled by the Legislature or the Executive.

Centre and the States

The American Constitution is a federal Constitution and there is a clear demarcation between the powers of the States and of the Federation. You have here what I might call a dual citizenship, citizenship of the State and citizenship of the Federation. You have also a dual Judiciary, one set of Judges enforcing State laws and the other the federal laws. In our country it was realised that it was necessary to have a strong Central Government to avoid the danger of fissiparous tendencies among the different States. Therefore, in India, the citizen owes his allegiance only to the Union of India and although there are High Courts in different States and a Supreme Court in Delhi, the Judiciary is one and integrated. It enforces both State and Union laws or what you would call federal laws. The Supreme Court in Delhi is the apex of the different Courts in the country and it is not only the highest federal court, it is also the highest Court of Appeal.

One difficulty which is always felt in a federation and you often felt it here is the demarcation of subjects on which the State Legislature can legislate and the Federal Legislature can legislate. The American Constitution naturally owes its characteristics to its past history. You had here independent States which decided to federate into the United States of America and, therefore, we have vestiges both in the American Constitution and in the Constitution of different States of important powers reserved to the States. In India, we have devised a rather novel machinery. There is a Union or federal list consisting of subjects in respect of which the Indian Parliament can legislate. There is a State list of subjects on which the State Legislature can legislate and we have a third list which is called the Concurrent List in respect of which both the Parliament and the State Legislatures can legislate. But, what makes our Union Parliament strong is the provision that all residuary powers of legislation are with the Union Parliament. In the United States, it is the contrary and residual powers are left to the State Legislatures. The device of the Concurrent List helps the Union Legislature to bring about uniformity even in matters where the State Legislature has legislative power. Under that list, both the State Legislature and the Union Legislature may cover the same legislative field but the legislation passed by the Union Legislature prevails over the State legislation. Here different States have different laws sometime in important matters like criminal or divorce law, etc. and the Congress has no power to bring about uniformity.

An important feature of every federal Constitution is the bicameral legislature; the lower chamber represents the people and the upper chamber represents the constituent States. In India, we have adopted the bicameral system but not with the federal characteristics. The House of the People which corresponds to the Chamber of Representatives in the Congress is elected on the basis of adult suffrage. In the Council of States which corresponds to the Senate here, the States are not equally represented as here but according to their population.

In bringing about the Indian Union and consolidating the different parts of India into one, we had considerable difficulties after independence. As you know, under the British rule, there were many independent Indian princes who ruled their own States as dictators. If you look at a map of India in British times, you will find parts of India which were ruled by the British painted red and the States of the Princes shown yellow and there were hundreds of these yellow dots all over the map, some large and some small. After independence, we liquidated these Princes not by violence or coercion but with their consent and we repainted the map of India in one colour.

Secular State

I should like to draw your attention to one aspect of our Constitution and that is that it sets up what we call a secular State. To translate it into American parlance, it means that we have a complete separation of Church and State. In our country, we have no official religion. In our country every man and every woman irrespective of class, community and race can look forward to any office and can enjoy the same right as anybody does. We have no two classes of citizenship, a higher and a lower one. We have no ghettos in our country where we shut up people and deny them the rights of citizenship. India was cursed for centuries by the existence of what were known as 'untouchables' or people of the lower caste who were segregated. Mahatma Gandhi carried on a powerful fight against untouchability and today under our Constitution untouchability has been abolished and even made an offence and untouchables have been given the same rights as people of higher castes. Only a few days back, an untouchable was appointed as Chief Minister of one of our States. It is like appointing a Negro as a Governor of one of the southern States. I agree that we cannot bring about social equality by law. You also have the same problem here. Here also Negroes have equal rights under the Constitution but unfortunately social discrimination is still practised against them. It takes time for people to change their attitude of mind. It is only when we realise that all men are not only equal before the law but also in the eye of God that we will have both in this country and our country a completely casteless society. Things have improved a great deal here and so have they in India.

Directive Principles

The Constitution of a country is only a machinery through which the country achieves its goal or what Socrates called 'the good life.' A Constitution may contain all the trappings of democracy; it may have a Legislature elected through adult suffrage; it may have Ministers responsible to that Legislature; it may have a strong Judiciary and even so, the Constitution may achieve nothing if it is not worked for a definite purpose and in order to achieve a specific goal. The goal of our country is set out in unmistakable terms in the Preamble to the Constitution to which I have referred.

But, these goals can only be achieved by laws passed by Parliament and by State Legislatures and, for that purpose, in the Constitution we have a chapter on Directive Principles which are intended as clear unmistakable guidance to the Legislatures even though they have no legal force. They contain more or less precepts and impose a moral, if not, a legal duty upon the country to apply the principles contained in this part in making laws. It is interesting to see what some of these Directive Principles contain. They lay down that the citizens have the right to adequate means of livelihood; that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good; that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment; that there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women. They also provide that the country shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement, and in other cases of undeserved want. They also lay down that the country shall endeavour to secure, by suitable legislation or economic organisation or in any other way to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise work, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities. They also lay down a period of ten years from the commencement of the Constitution within which the State shall provide for free and compulsory education for all citizens until they complete the age of 14 years. These are the Directive Principles which in the last ten years we have been trying to give effect to by the laws that we have passed. This is the socialistic pattern of society towards which we are aiming. May I say one word about our socialism ? There is a great deal of misunderstanding in this country as to what socialism in the context of Indian society means. Our socialism is not a doctrinaire socialism. It is a pragmatic one, but what we are trying to do is what I have just pointed out to you as embodied in our Directive Principles. You will find on a close study of these Directive Principles that you in this country have already successfully carried out most of them and, where you have not, you are working to give effect to them. I think this country is more socialistic than India, but unfortunately people here do not realise how socialistic they are.

In the last ten years, we have also brought about a social revolution again giving effect to these Directive Principles. We have passed laws of marriage, divorce and inheritance under which we have given greater rights to women in India. Today, the women in India occupy the same position as men. There are women holding high positions in every walk of life. We have women as Governors, as Ambassadors, as Judges and as Ministers.

In the ultimate analysis, a Constitution must be judged by what it helps the country to achieve and applying that test, I think our Constitution has helped the country, Parliament and Government to achieve many of the goals which the people of India solemnly resolved to do when they enacted the Constitution.

Justice Holmes, a very wise man, one of the wisest your country has produced, once said that like all life a Constitution was an experiment. You have been experimenting with your Constitution for nearly two centuries and during that period it has helped you to create a free and prosperous society. We have been experimenting with ours only for the last ten years—and we also hope, especially because our Constitution so closely and strikingly resembles yours,—to achieve a free and prosperous society. Our society is already free. We need your help and co-operation to make it a prosperous one.*

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*Text of the Mary Keatinge Das and Taraknath Das Memorial Lecture delivered by Mr. M. C. Chagla, Ambassador of India under the auspices of Columbia University at the McMillin Theater, Broadway and West 116th Street, New York City, on Monday, February 1, 1960.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN INDIA

A Historical Analysis

By BELA BOSE, M.A.,
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The problem of unemployment in India can be traced back to the end of the 18th Century when our own system of industrial production was gradually destroyed through coercive measures adopted by the East India Company and the competition of products manufactured by the large industrial establishments of Great Britain. It is well known that the principal feature of ancient Indian village community was that each one of the village groups had its own occupation either principal or subsidiary to agriculture and such occupational groups were placed within the village community in such a manner that production and consumption were well balanced and the employment for nearly all was ensured. Agriculture was no doubt the main source of livelihood but the village communities did not depend on agriculture alone. There were always other means of livelihood either integrated with agriculture or followed independently. Such industries met not only the internal demand but had also built up a wide and profitable export market.

Evidence of export of the products of these artisans till the Industrial Revolution, is available. The Periplus of the Erithrean Sea gives definite information of India's external trade in industrial goods. The artisans were organised in units similar to the European guilds of the middle ages. The entrance to a trade, the wages, sales, prices and conditions of work were all carefully regulated. Wages were paid in money or in kind. The artisan sometimes worked as an independent unit with or without apprentices or for a dealer. The dealer might either simply advance money to him, have a lien on his product which he purchased at a settled price as soon as it was complete after deducting the advances made, or he might himself act as the employer making the artisan work for wages. The employer provided the raw materials in turn to spinners, weavers, and dyers. Separate Royal Workshops were also in existence where a certain number of artisans were collected together and made to work for wages. This type of organisation existed generally for highgrade articles for the Courts, the wealthy classes and for export. Th position of the middle men or dealers was generally better than the artisans. The dealers mostly acted as bankers, traders and in many cases as promoters of industrial enterprises.

The East India Company on their arrival found Indian Industry and trade in this condition. The Company's agents appeared first as dealers. Their main concern was with trade and especially with the external trade. The East India Company introduced a new encouragement to manufacture by extending the scope and market of Indian merchandise. Within a short time, there was a great increase in industrial activities. This is evident from the Report of Mr. Brown on the Commerce of British India in 1802-03, when he remarked that "Previous to the year 1798, a ship arriving in the Bengal river with funds to the extent of thirty thousand, (30,000) and in want of bale goods, was compelled to remain until they could be manufactured at the different aurangs; whereas at the present period there are seldom less than one million sterling in value of cloths belonging to native merchants deposited in Calcutta for sale and of every other species of merchandise in equal proportion."[1]

They bought goods, mainly cotton and silk manufactures through the native dealers and thus began to come into direct contact with the industrial producers.

The Company established factories in important centres for collecting merchandise. These were more of the nature of purchasing agencies rather than producing centres. The commercial residents of the Company were in their charge. They followed the traditional system of placing orders and making advances to the actual handicrafts-men and collect the goods from them direct as soon as the manufacture was complete. In Bengal the products were collected from craftsmen at the centres of production. In Madras attempt was made to attract workmen to particular centres and employ them in a manner comparable with the old Royal Workshops. In this way the Company's agents came into direct competition with the local dealers.

Their rivalry at this stage was not with the actual producers or artisans but with the traders.[2] Their first attack was on the commerce or on the tertiary sector of employment. The Company by virtue of their charter had a monopoly of the trade of India and private traders of the land were practically at their mercy. Before the Industrial Revolution, therefore, the policy of the East India Company was a danger to the trade both internal and external but it did not affect the productive system which was rather encouraged by their activities. The employment position thus remained more or less intact.

Before European manufactures began to flood the Indian market, it was India that had built up an extensive export trade in many European countries. In a letter to Robert Dundas, the Court of Directors of the East India Company pointed out, "The articles of first necessity their (Indians') own country furnished more abundantly and more cheaply than it is possible for Europe to supply them. ....Except woollens and metals ....hardly any of our staple commodities find a vent among the Indians. The Chief commodities suited to the European market......which India had hitherto been found to produce are spices, pepper, drugs, sugar, silk, saltpetre, indigo, raw cotton and above all cotton manufactures of singular beauty and endless variety. These last have formed from time immemorial the grand staple of India."

It was this cotton industry that was first affected by the influx of the British goods. Cotton Industry was established at Manchester at the beginning of the 18th Century but goods produced were inferior to Indian goods. The Industrial Revolution enabled England by the beginning of the 19th Century to manufacture industrial goods on a mass scale and export them to foreign markets. After the Industrial Revolution many of the Indian artistic products exported to England began to be undercut in the British market, by the English factory products. The impact of the cheaper and less artistic factory products indirectly helped to bring down the quality of the products of handicrafts in India. The products which suffered most were cotton textiles, silk textiles, and silken-embroidered goods, woollen textiles including carpets, carved stone and wood, silver, copper and brass ware, carved ivory and lacquer work.

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[1] Extract from Mr. Brown's Report on the Commerce of British India in 1802-03 (R. N. Chaudhury. P. 19).

[2] Vera Anstey: Economic Development of India, p. 105.

This impact had a serious repercussion in India. So long the Company's agents bought goods in India at the Indian market price. When due to the British factory competition they found that the prices of the commodities would have to be reduced, in order to compete with factory goods in British market they began to adopt coercive measures in India for a reduction in their cost price, mere decline in quality was not sufficient to bring the price to such a level that competition with the factory product would become possible. Therefore great pressure was now brought to bear upon the producers of the goods in India. As a first step towards reduction in cost the local dealers were eliminated and the Company's agents established direct contact with the producers through their factories. Full advantage was taken of the poverty of the people. A system of advances was introduced and the producers under the circumstances then existing were compelled to accept the advances. The Company's agents forced them to part with their goods at a dictated price because the producers accepted an advance which he could not refund. Penal measures against artisans unwilling to work for the company at the dictated price began to be frequently adopted. There was physical violence as well. Such was the Indian artisans' relation with the British agents. They could get better price from Dutch and Portuguese traders even for their inferior goods. The following extract from Dr. Buchanan's comment is illustrative. Buchanan says, "Each man on becoming bound (Asami) to the Company received Rs. 2|- and engaged not to work for any person until he had made as much as the Company required and no other advance has ever been made by the Commercial Residents. The agents ordered each man to make a certain number of pieces of such or such goods and he is paid for each on its delivery according to the price stated in the tables."[3] In this way the artisan was deprived of the right to sell his commodity in the open market at a competitive price. He was bought over for Rs. 2|- and was compelled to deliver all his goods at a dictated price to the Company's agents. Employment remained but the remuneration was drastically reduced. A study of the decline of industries under the Company's coercive measures brings out this fact that the artisans became completely desperate and demoralised and left their hereditary occupations. These men adopted agriculture as their only means of livelihood. Thus the pressure on land increased and with the decline in industries agriculture became the only means of livelihood and employment. The tertiary sector of employment, i.e., dealership in goods was already reduced by the infiltration of Company's agents in this sector and the consequent elimination of the local dealers. The destruction of the industries as a result of the Company's agents' eagerness to reduce the purchase price drove away a large number of people from the secondary sector of employment. Only the primary sector remained and this was absolutely insufficient to provide adequate employment and fair income. In this way there was a complete change in the pattern of employment and the scope for employment also became reduced. The maladjustment between man and material created at this stage got no opportunity of being removed. The problem of unemployment in its real sense originated at this point.

Dr. Buchanan made a survey of economic condition of Eastern and Southern India during the period 1804 to 1814. The records left by him give a good picture of Indian village life, its economic conditions and the employment position. From his accounts as well as from other narratives it is found that a large proportion of the Indian population was engaged in various industries besides their principal occupation, namely, agriculture, down to the middle of the second decade of the 19th Century. Weaving was still the national industry of the people. Millions of women increased the family income by their earnings from spinning, dyeing, tanning, metal working, and numerous other small industries provided employment to millions. Thus even fairly long after the Industrial Revolution Buchanan found Indian industries in a flourishing condition.

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[3] Montogomery Martin : Eastern India, Vol. I, p. 355.

The Charter of 1813 introduced a change in the commercial policy which accentuated the decline of the Indian industries. Merely a change in the motive power brought about by the Industrial Revolution was not the only cause of the decline of Indian Industries. Indian goods were not only fine and artistic but were articles of everyday use. These goods produced by manual labour continued to compete with British products manufactured with steam power. Dr. Buchanan's survey indicates that unequal motive power was not enough to kill the hereditary skill and dexterity of the Indian artisans. The commercial policy of Britain had to be altered and political pressure had to be applied in order to establish British machine products in Britain's own market and also in the Indian market by ousting the handicrafts of the Indian artisans. Dr. Buchanan's survey has left an account of the period till the Charter of 1813 and is thus very important from this standpoint. In Dr. Buchanan's survey of Patna City and Bihar districts with a population of 3,364,420 the number of spinners were estimated at 330,426 and all the spinners were women, i.e., one tenth of the total population of the province were employed in one industry alone. Greater part of these women spun only a few hours in the afternoon. According to Buchanan's calculation the value of the thread spun by each spinner was nearly Rs. 7|2|8 pies per year out of which the profit was nearly 50 per cent. Although the total earning for the year might look incredibly low at the present time it can reasonably be believed that at the then current prices this earning represented substantial income. It represented the output of only a few hours in the afternoon. Had the needs been greater the high percentage of profit would certainly have attracted them to work longer hours.

In Shahabad spinning and weaving were the great national industries. Each woman made Rs. 1|8|- a year through spinning. It was added to the income of the families to which the women belonged. Each loom made an annual income of Rs. 20|12|- a year and each loom required the labour of a man and his wife as well as one boy or girl. Dr. Buchanan suspected that as a family could not be supported for less than Rs. 48|- a year, the income of each loom was understated. But he did not say that the weavers had no land. Rather in his statement we find that half of the district was under Rice cultivation. If we take into consideration the fact that the weavers had some land which provided them for their food for the year, the income from the loom might have been quite sufficient.

The Company's Charter was renewed in 1813—when the Company's monopoly trade in India was taken away and private trade was allowed in the Indian market. A Parliamentry Enquiry Committee, was set up in that year to inquire into the conditions of the Company's trade.[4] In respect of Indian manufactures the House of Commons sought to discover how they could be replaced by British manufactures and how British industries could be promoted at the expense of Indian industries. The real object of this Parliamentary Enquiry was to promote the interest of the British manufactures which had been excluded by Napoleon from the Continental Ports. An outlet for British manufactures was therefore desperately needed, and this Committee was appointed to eke out a solution.

In this Committee of Enquiry there was a great divergence of opinion about the commercial potentiality of Indian manufactures. The excellence of Indian products of small and cottage industries was however asserted by Sir Thomas Munro before this Committee. Sir Thomas Munro had spent twenty-seven years in India and spoke from his own experience. The unequal competition of British goods enjoying steam power and also greater political backing against Indian goods was explained by John Rankin, a merchant examined by the Commons Committee of 1813.

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[4] R. C. Dutt—Economic History of India, pp. 242, 245, 249.

John Rankin made no hesitation to disclose the objectionable nature of such prohibitive duties and thus he said, "I took upon it as a protective duty to encourage our own manufacture." Henry St. George Tucker was in India for a long time and became a director of the East India Company. Writing in 1823, i.e., ten years after the date of the Parliamentary Enquiry referred to above, he condemned England's commercial policy towards India. The way in which Indian Industries were forced to go down has been fully illustrated in his statement. He wrote, "What is the commercial policy which we have adopted in this country with relation to India? The silk manufactures and its piece goods made of silk and cotton intermixed have long since been excluded altogether from our markets; and of late partly in consequence of the operation of a duty of 67 per cent; but chiefly from the effect of superior machinery, the cotton fabrics, which hitherto constituted the staple of India, have not only been displaced in this Country, but we actually export our cotton manufactures to supply a part of the consumption of our Asiatic possession. India is thus reduced from the state of manufacturing to that of an agricultural country". It was stated in evidence in the Commons Committee of 1813, that the cotton and silk goods of India up to that period could be sold for a profit in the British market at a price 50 to 60 per cent lower than those manufactured in England in mechanised factories. It therefore became necessary to protect the latter by duties of 70 and 80 per cent on their value or by positive prohibition.

H. H. Wilson said that the mills of Paisley and Manchester would have been stopped in their outset had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed and could scarcely have been again set in motion even by the power of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of the Indian manufactures. British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty and the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms. The vitality of the Indian Cottage Industries which provided independent and subsidiary employment to millions was proved.

R. C. Dutt traced the Commercial policy of Great Britain towards India in the 18th and earlier years of the 19th centuries. He said, "Endeavours were made which were fatally successful to repress Indian manufacturers and to extend British manufactures. The import of Indian goods to Europe was repressed by prohibitive duties; the export of British goods to India was encouraged by almost nominal duties. The production of raw material in India for British industries and the consumption of British manufactures in India, were the two-fold objects of the early commercial policy of England."[5]

Montgomery told a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1840: "I do not agree that India is an agricultural country; India is as much a manufacturing country as an agricultural; and he who would seek to reduce her to the position of an agricultural country seeks to lower her in the scale of civilization. I do not suppose that India is to become the agriculture farm of England; she is a manufacturing country; her manufactures of various descriptions have existed for ages and have never been able to be competed with/by any nation wherever fair play has been given to them. I speak not now of her Dacca Muslins and her Cashmir Shawls, but of various articles which she has manufactured in a manner superior to any part of the World. To reduce her now to an agricultural Country would be an injustice to India."

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[5] R. C. Dutt—Economic History of India, Vol. II, p. vii.

It is,, therefore, clear that even by the middle of the 19th Century a man like Montgomery Martin who had personal and extensive knowledge about India believed that the Indian manufacture could compete with the products of any country in the world if the competition was fair. Martin further said, "The cry that has taken play for free trade with India, has been a free trade from this country, not a free trade between India and this country......The decay and destruction of Surat, of Dacca, of Murshidabad and other places where native manufactures had been carried on is too painful a fact to dwell upon. I do not consider that it has been in the fair course of trade. I think it has been the power of the stronger exercised over the weaker."[6] Most of the witnesses before the Select Committee of 1840 had much to say about the displacement of Indian labour by the introduction of English manufactures—clothing, tools and implements, glassware and brass articles. The people of India deprived of their occupations, turned to agriculture chiefly. India instead of exporting manufactured goods began to export raw materials in large volume. But here also differential treatment was made in regard to Indian products. Indian sugar had to pay a higher duty than the Dutch Indies Sugar when imported in England. Similar distinction was made between Indian and American cotton. It was thus political pressure and political discrimination which drove up the largest source of employment and threw the people entirely on land.

The following facts therefore emerge prominently :

(1) In spite of organisational difference, i.e., small Indian Industry against large British Industry the former continued to compete with the latter. The price of the product of the small Indian industries in its export market in England was 50 to 60 per cent lower than the price of the British product in its home market.

(2) In spite of the great difference in motive power, i.e., manual power in India and steam power in England, the Indian industry maintained its superiority.

(3) It was political injustice which ultimately succeeded in strangling Britain's Indian competitors. The closure of India's export market in England through prohibitive duties, dumping of British products in India under political pressure and a planned discouragement of Indian industries were the causes of the final decline. The export market was lost; the home market in India contracted to a large extent but in spite of such heavy discouragements the industries were not totally killed. The strength of the small industry against so many odds had been demonstrated. Although it was declining, it maintained its existence.

After private trade was permitted in 1813 a new development in India had taken place. There was a change in the pattern of industrialisation and consequently in the sphere of employment as well. More emphasis was now laid on production even at the cost of employment. The only objective became maximum production at minimum cost. British traders came to India and began to start large-scale industries. Greater reliance was placed on mechanisation. This new phase in industrialisation may be divided into three sections, namely, plantation, mining and manufacturing industries. Indigo was the first plantation industry introduced in Bengal. About the middle of the 18th Century Europe's requirements of Indigo was supplied from St. Domingo. In an insurrection in St. Domingo the Indigo factories there were destroyed. India about the year 1779-80 became the source of indigo. The French and Spaniards manufactured indigo in St. Domingo but in India the British took up the trade. Bengal, Behar, Madras, North-Western Provinces became the principal areas for the cultivation of indigo and this new industry became a source of considerable wealth to them. The ryots were very much oppressed and the people of India did not get the full benefit of this new industry. During the period of indigo prosperity this industry employed a considerable number of workers both in cultivation and in manufacture. The introduction of synthetic indigo in 1897 dealt a serious blow to this industry. In spite of this early in the Twentieth Century the industry still supported about 2½ lakhs of people but the number began to decline gradually.[7]

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[6] R. C. Dutt—Economic History of India, Vol. II, p. 112.

Although the possibility of tea cultivation was being suggested as early as 1788 but actual plantation was not undertaken until 1851. After some rise and fall the industry became more or less firmly established in 1869. Acreage production and export of tea began to increase rapidly with the expansion of foreign markets. The leading province in tea cultivation became Assam followed by Bengal. Assam and Bengal together cultivated 80 per cent of the total area under tea and raised 84 per cent of the total production. The tableland of Assam with its two contiguous districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri in Bengal and the region over the Malabar Coast in South India including the Nilgiris and Travancore produced together 98 per cent of India's tea crop. In 1905, the earliest year for which records of the garden workers are available the average daily number of workers in this industry all over India was 5,53,821. This number rose to 9,73,352 in 1918, the highest figure ever reached in this industry till 1928. In 1928 the total number of workers in tea was 9,06,787 or 57 per cent of all plantation industry. The total number of plantation labourers in all three plantations namely, tea, coffee, and rubber was 10,53,944.

These plantation industries may thus be considered to have supplied additional employment to more than 10 lakhs of people. It was a net addition and it did not displace any other industry.

Similar is the case with mining industry. Existence of coal in Bengal has been traced, as far back as 1774. In 1775 the mining industry started but the quality of coal was not satisfactory. The year 1820 might be recorded as the date of first regular operation of the coal industry in the Ranigange Coal Field. The industry showed signs of development only in the second half of the 19th Century and specially after the construction of the E. I. Railway, which passed through the Ranigange Coal Field and served not only as a carrier but as a large consumer of coal. The foundation of cotton and jute mills provided further stimulus to the coal industry, the progress of which became rapid. This industry had provided employment to 150,000 people which is also a net addition to employment. Most of the coal mine labourers have been recruited from the neighbouring cultivating class. They had still maintained their link with the land: they went to attend their village twice a year during the sowing and harvesting seasons. Thus for many of them the coal industry came as an additional source of employment.

Plantation and mining industry instead of displacing industrial labour had introduced new sources of employment.

The development of sources of power both thermal and electrical has not come into conflict with the small industry but on the other hand these have stimulated the development of small industries providing for further employment in the secondary sector. Similarly the development of basic raw materials like iron and aluminium has helped in the growth of other industries and stimulated employment. This has not been the case with the development of large-scale industries for the manufacture of consumers' goods.

The industries that first attracted the English Capitalists were cotton and jute. In 1878 the first cotton mill, the Bowreah Cotton Mills Co., Ltd., was established at Fort Gloster near Calcutta and for the first time in India steam power was used in spinning and weaving of cotton fabrics. The outposts of industrial revolution being first planted by the cotton industry gradually spread to other industries, such as sugar, rice husking and grinding, oil milling and others.

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[7] Imperial Gazetteer, 1908, p. 374.

This rise of modern industries was a new source of danger to the wide-spread Indian small industries. Large-scale factories were established by the British agency houses. Although they provided immediate employment in these factories, the employment pattern ultimately suffered a very serious change. For example, cotton spinning was the main source of employment to the women next probably to paddy husking till the first quarter of the 19th Century. The introduction of power spinning in the large textile factories deprived the village women-folk one of their principal sources of income. Instead of helping the family to some extent even with this small earning they became totally dependent on the male members. When the factory milling of rice came, it made them absolutely helpless. The appearance of the husking machine made a large section totally unemployed, namely, the village women-folk.

Although the first cotton mill was established in Bengal, it was not before 1854 that the real beginning of the industry was made. The first successful cotton mill was started in 1854 in Bombay by C. N. Davar. Since then a large number of mills were erected in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Sholapur, Madras and other places and rapid expansion of the industry was evident. From the beginning this industry was financed and controlled by Indians although European managers were often employed. Production of yarn and cloth by steam power in India had its foundation firmly laid.

By the beginning of 1875 there were 48 cotton mills in India with looms and spindles estimated at 10,000 and 10,00,000 respectively (Ref. Pillai 189). The growth of the mill industry together with the expansion of employment between 1877 and 1939 may be seen from the following table :[8]

Year	No. of Mills	No. of Spindles.	No. of looms.	Average No. of hands employed.
1877	51	1,244,206	10,385	Not stated
1900	193	4,945,783	40,124	161,189
1914	271	6,778,895	104,179	260,276
1918	262	6,653,871	116,484	282,227
1922	298	7,331,219	134,620	343,723
1927	336	8,702,760	161,952	384,623
1930	348	9,124,768	179,250	384,022
1932	339	9,506,083	186,341	403,226
1936	379	9,856,658	200,062	417,803
1939	389	10,059,370	202,464	441,949

From this table it is found that since 1877 the increase in the number of mills has been about eight times, the increase in the number of spindles about ten times, increase in the number of looms twenty times, but increase in employment has been less than three times. This shows that there has been greater mechanisation and greater utilisation of power in the spinning section than in the weaving department and the progressive mechanisation of the mills made it possible for them to be run with less than proportionate number of men. The net result was that employment lagged behind while the number of mills went on increasing rapidly. Thus the balance between production and consumption could hardly be maintained. Employment lagged behind and the total purchasing power of the people did not increase. At every state of advancement of big industries there was some increase in employment but there was a corresponding and more than proportionate decline in employment because the new big industries wiped out the smaller competitors which employed larger number of people.

The production of the mills increased to such an extent by the Second World War that imports were very much reduced. The handloom production, however, continued to maintain itself, even against this dual competition of imports and mill production. The greatest difficulty for the handloom was (and still is) the price and availability of yarn. Even with this serious difficulty as regards its only raw material, handloom production remained almost constant.

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[8] **Indian Year Book,** 1940-41, p. 762 and Report of the Cotton Millowners' Association, 1939, p. 389.

Due to the elimination of different industrial sources of employment and the increasing dependence on agriculture as the sole means of livelihood poverty began to increase. Attempts from non-official quarters were made to discover the cause of this increase in national poverty. Justice Ranade, Dadabhai Noaroji, R. C. Dutt, Digby and others began to write on this subject. All of them said that the main cause of poverty was foreign exploitation, drainage of national wealth and the ruin of Indian trade and industries. Although the number of people depending on agriculture increased heavily, the methods of cultivation remained the same and productivity did not increase. Therefore productivity being low and dependence on agriculture being greater, per capita earning from agriculture which was already low declined still further. Agriculture provided employment only for five months a year and for the rest of the year there was all-round idleness. With greater number of people falling upon agriculture fragmentation of land increased with a consequent increase in number of uneconomic holdings. As a result the number of landless people in the rural sector with a chance of employment only during the five months of the agricultural season began to increase. The establishment of modern factories therefore failed to bring any substantial benefit to the poverty-striken people of India. It gave them cheap products, it brought wealth to the richer section, enriched the treasury of the Government through high revenue, it imported a new tempo to the dull economic life of the country, but it did little to give relief to the people who had been deprived of their traditional profession by the power-driven factories of modern age. Large-scale factory opened new avenues of employment no doubt but that was too scanty to provide the large labour force.

The industrial development in India was not commensurate with the need of the country. British capitalists developed those industries only where they were certain of maximum profit. They had no intention to improve the condition of the people or to make arrangements for the profitable employment of those who had been driven out of their village handicrafts. Only the consumption goods industries were established while the basic and key industries remained quite undeveloped. No balance between production and consumption was maintained. Capital formation was very low and the country depended exclusively on foreign capital for all essential requirements of the industry. The condition became so precarious that towards the end of the 19th Century, a series of desolating famines occurred to endanger the very foundation of the economic life. It was no longer feasible on the part of the government to adhere to the policy of **Laissez faire** and to shirk off their responsibility of maintaining economic stability. Consequently the Government was obliged to appoint in 1880 a Famine Commission to investigate into the cause of the recurrence of famine and to suggest remedial measures. The Famine Commission found in the introduction of a diversity of occupations the most important remedy and made detailed recommendations regarding the directions in which the Government might usefully aid in the fostering of new industries. As to the cause of famine, the Commission said, "At the root of much of the poverty of the people of India, and of the risks to which they are exposed in seasons of scarcity, lies the unfortunate circumstance that agriculture forms almost the sole occupation of the mass of the population, and no remedy for present evils can be complete which does not include the introduction of a diversity of occupation, through which the surplus population may be drawn from agricultural pursuits, and led to find the means of subsistence in manufactures or some such employments." The Commission hit the right nail on the head and made the accurate diagnosis but unfortunately failed to prescribe the remedy suitable to India. Industrialisatian was its recommendation but the Commission had no concrete idea of the form and actual working of the industrial organisation which would be appropriate to make provision of employment for the surplus population. The Commission could not penetrate into the root of the economic system of India. They took India as they found her at the time of the Commission and had no eyes to her past history when full employment to the people was accorded by the organised village industries. Although the Commission failed to realise that industrialisation on British model was absolutely inadequate for a vast country like India with such a huge population, it acknowledged the intimate relations between famine, industrialisation and employment.

The only practical outcome of the recommendations of the Commission was that the Government issued an order to its officers in 1883 asking them to confine their indents on the European markets to those articles that could not be obtained in the country. An Industrial Exhibition was organised in Calcutta in 1884-85 and this led to the foundation of Calcutta Commercial Museum. Provision, although inadequate, was made in certain parts of the country to impart technical and industrial education.

Towards the end of the century the evils of dependence on foreign capital for economic development was realised. The Swadeshi Movement of 1905 brought about a psychological change. The economic demand was merged into the larger and more comprehensive demand for **Swaraj**. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report said, "The Swadeshi Movement was the positive and the boycott the negative expression of the same purpose." Inspired by the ideals of the movement, a great wave of industrial enthusiasm spread all over the country. A number of factories depending on modern technology were established for the manufacture of textiles, hosiery, pencils, cutlery, matches, glass, etc. A revival of old cottage industries were also made along with modern mechanical industries. But most of these enterprises collapsed shortly after their inception. Lack of practical training on the part of the workers and even more at the lack of experience of their promoters, in combination with the apathetic attitude of the Government brought about their destruction and ruin. Instead of helping these new infant industries, the Government deliberately pursued a policy to hamper their progress. Differential railway rates were allowed to continue to the prejudice of Indian manufacturers. Competition from imported goods were permitted. Most of the Indian industries therefore died a natural death. The experience of this endeavour however emphasised the fact that without strong and vigorous backing of the Government at least in the initial stage, industries in India had no chance to establish firmly. Thus in the period before the First World War, Indian industries were very poorly developed. The outbreak of the war in 1914 gave for the first time in the annals of British regime in India, a real impetus to industrial development. Industrialisation so far was only piecemeal in its development. The war brought a new orientation. The demand for Indian manufactured goods increased enormously, partly because imports were completely eliminated from Indian market and partly on account of the new War demand from Indian troops in Mesopotamia and other Eastern War Centres and from England and the Allies. India was therefore in a favourable position for incurring a great industrial stimulas.

With the outbreak of the War the problem that worried the Government of India most was how to secure huge War materials from the undeveloped industrial units. The difficulty of securing import threatened to jeopardise Indian economic life. Hence there was urgent need for a new constructive economic policy. In their despatch of the 26th November, 1915, Lord Hardinge's Government put this question to the India office. Consequently the Industrial Commission was appointed in 1916, to investigate whether existing industries would be able to supply War demand and also to find out the actual industrial potentiality of

India. The Commission was instructed to examine and report upon the possibilities of further industrial development in India and to submit recommendations for a permanent policy of industrial stimulation. The object was to relieve the United Kingdom from the necessity of supplying extraneous demands. Accordingly steps were taken to develop Indian resources for the supply of the forces in India, Mesopotamia, and Egypt.

In 1917 the Indian Munitions Board was created. The Board's primary function was the utilisation to the utmost extent of Indian resources in materials of all kinds, except food and fodder, required for the prosecution of the War. The Board had to meet civil as well as military demands for stores.[9]

The ability of the Board to develop industries in India had been strictly limited by the concentration of its energies on its primary object, namely, the immediate supply but within those limits it had been able to foster the growth of indigenous industries in many ways, the most important of which were—

(1) the direct purchase in India of articles and materials of all kinds needed for the army and civil departments and the railways,

(2) the diversion, whenever practicable, by means of the priority system and its control over Home indents, of all orders for articles and materials from the United Kingdom and elsewhere to manufacturers in India,

(3) the giving of assistance to individuals and firms who desired to import plant or to engage chemical and technical experts and skilled labour from Home or elsewhere, in order to establish new industries or develop old ones.

(4) the dissemination of information and expert advice and the giving of other direct or indirect economic management to persons prepared to establish new industries in India.

With the exception of foodstuffs, medical stores, and certain technical stores such as mechanical transport, for the provision of which there already existed special organisations, the Indian Munitions Board became responsible for the supply of all articles required by the armies stationed in and based on India, by Government departments and by State Railways, as well as for certain materials needed by the British Government.

The following list of articles among others which the Board repeatedly refused to recommend priority, on the ground that they, on a suitable substitute, could be manufactured in India, show that opportunities have been afforded to Indian manufacturers by the War—carbolic, sulphuric and hydrochloric acids, caustic soda, magnesium chloride, zinc chloride, felter bag sheaths, brushes and brooms of all kinds, leather and cotton beltings, boiler composition, bolts, nuts and rivets, locks and padlock, galvanised buckets, buttons, buffer straps and buffers, buffer jute pickers, cast iron piping, lamp chimneys and gloves chrome leather, disinfecting fluids, firebricks, soldering fluid, glass dishes and jars, various surgical instruments, penknives and pruning knives, scissors, leather washers, manilla rope leather articles, linseed oils, anti-friction ocheres, metal and metal polish, red and yellow paints and varnishes, roller skin, soap, tallow, tea chests and tea lead, twine, paraffin wax cotton webbing, ship fittings, sheepskins for rice mills, gears, cast iron wheels wooden handles for tools, hand tools and machinery spares of all descriptions.[10]

The Board's policy led to the simultaneous development of Indian industries in all the three sectors, namely, large medium and cottage. In order to encourage industries the Board's policy was to deal with the manufacturers direct wherever possible. During Sept. 1918, store worth Rs. 3¼ crores were purchased. Of this amount 47 per cent was paid to purely Indian firms; 26 per cent to purely European firms, and the rest to firms European in management but composite in share hol

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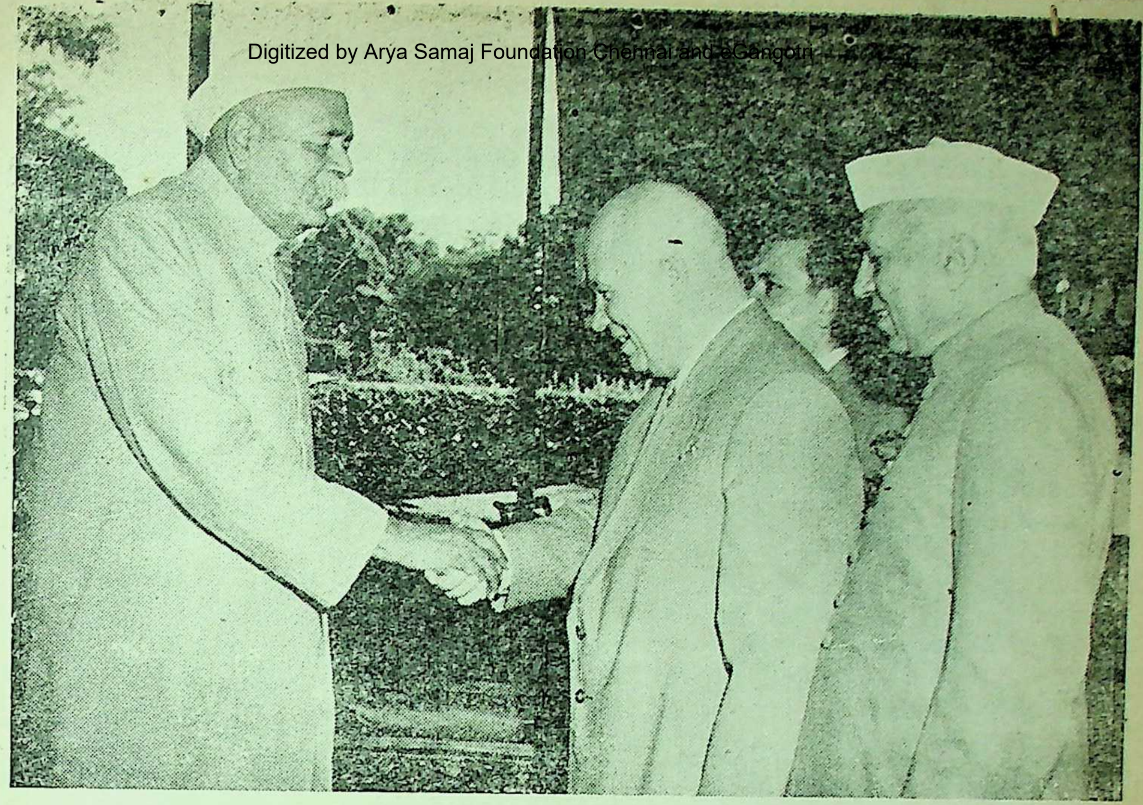
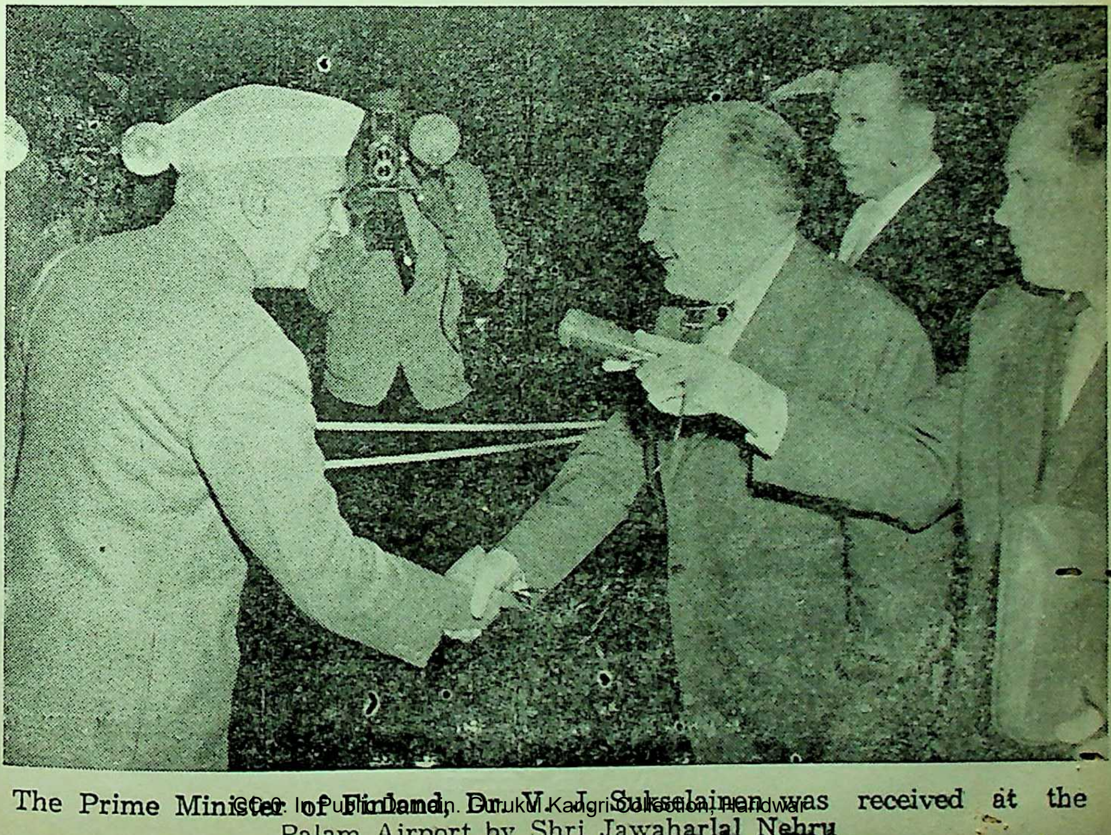
[9] Munition Board Report, p. 2.

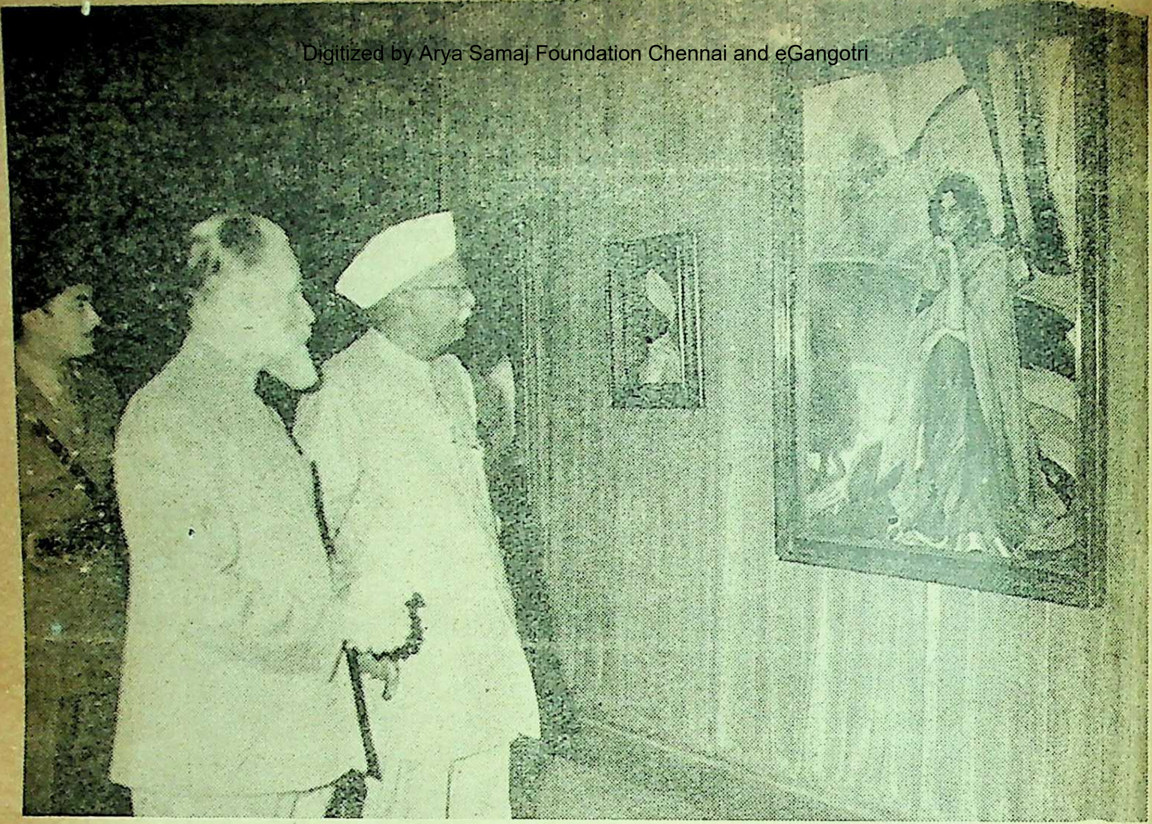
[10] Munition Board Report, p. 13.



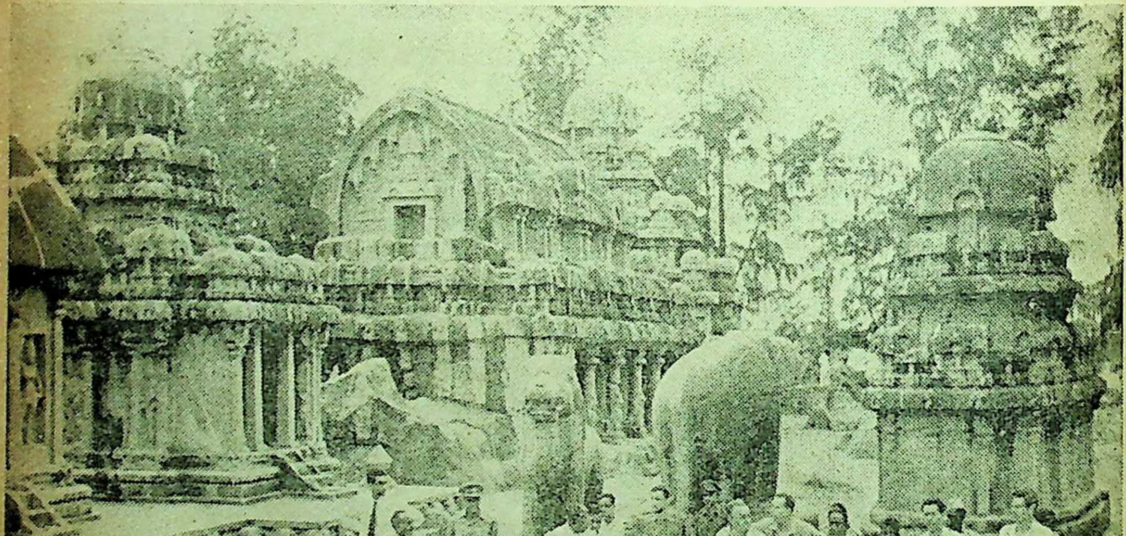
Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, Union Home Minister, being introduced to Prime Minister Mr. N. S. Khrushchev of the U.S.S.R. at a lunch given to the latter by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru



The Prime Minister of Finland, Dr. V. J. Sukselainen was received at the Palam Airport by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru



Dr. Rajendra Prasad being conducted round the Exhibition of Svetoslav Roerich's paintings by the artist



The Finland Prime Minister Dr. Sukselainen and party being taken round the Panch Rathas, rock-cut temples at Mahavalipuram, during their recent visit to Madras ing. In addition to this over one crore a month was paid for hides and leather almost entirely to Indian firms.

The Board has paid special attention to the development of what may be called 'key' industries, so far as this has been possible in India. For instance, attention has been focussed on the accessories used by the milling industries in this country, such as roller skins, pickers, etc. Other industries, to which considerable attention has been paid are the manufacture of anti-friction metal, ferro-manganese glass, pottery, refractory bricks, disinfecting fluids, tea pruning knives, tea chests, asbestos boiler composition, glucose, articles, and graphite crucibles. In most of these, considerable success was obtained by manufacturers. Ferro-manganese was even exported on a large scale. The development of the glass industry had been considerable, and such articles as bottles and phials, which were imported previously entirely from abroad, used to be manufactured in the country on a commercial scale. Refractory materials, suitable for lining the hottest furnaces, were made in India and it was hoped that the country would soon be independent of foreign imports of these articles On an analysis of the list of industries developed show that a number of small industries increased their production under this stimulus of encouragement. Pruning knives were being made in numbers practically sufficient to supply the entire demands of the tea industry. About 2 lakhs of such knives are required every year. They began to be manufactured by Aspinwal & Co. in Southern India, Johnson & Co. of Aligarh and by local blacksmiths and manufacturers in Darjeeling, Manbhum and Shillong. Although one of the main difficulties was in the supply of steel, "some of these local products are quite satisfactory and the makers do make a fairly large trade in them. ......The first knife made from Tata Steel was produced by Batakristo Pal & Co., Calcutta and as a result of the experiment, Tatas have offered to supply steel of the quality required," hoes, digging fox, kodalies, etc., required by the tea industry were also manufactured.

In the jute industry practically all the consumable stores and all the machinery were, before the War, imported from the United Kingdom. Bobbins, plane tree rollers, pickers, roller skins, belting porcelain thread guides, etc., all came from England. Careful examination has shown that all these stores and many others can be successfully produced in this country, and they are now being produced successfully on a commercial scale. Bobbins of excellent quality were made by A. T. Mookerjee, while plane tree rollers have been made by Davenport & Co.'s saw mills in South India. Porcelain guides were made by the Calcutta Pottery Works.

In Bengal, attempts had been made to organise the hand weavers, and for the manufacture of dosuti for tents, and tapes and khaki webbing were manufactured by hand on a large scale in Calcutta and its neighbourhood, Howrah, Hooghly, Nadia and Bankura. Buttons were also made for the army by the Home Industries Association and by other firms.

The cutlery industry made a great headway. Munition Board Report says that the making of knives of various kinds has always been an indigenous industry especially in the Punjab where it has been in the hands of the small artisans. Manufacture of cutlery by the small artisans has been done in other places as well like Aligarh, Nezamabad, Wazirabad, Kanchannagar, etc. During the First World War military purchase of knives in large numbers gave a great encouragement to this industry. Clasp knives were required for the equipment of the individual soldier and were purchased from the village artisans. After some trouble the wooden handle was made by them. Collins says that "these knives were manufactured for the most part without machinery and the work of the artisans were organised by manufacturing firms like Johnson & Co. of Aligarh, by small capitalists or by blacksmiths of more than average intelligence with capital of their own. Knives and spoons were also purchased in large numbers. Many of the class knives produced were not only of excellent quality but compare very favourably in price with the imported articles." Pruning knives were also manufactured from waste steel, which was also encouraged by the Munitions Board.

Development during the War was hindered for:

(a) the great difficulty under war conditions of obtaining essential machinery and materials such as cannot be made in India,

(b) the shortage of coal and coking plant, coupled with a shortage of railway wagons and coasting vessels,

(c) the difficulty of procuring from abroad chemical and technical experts, who were all needed in their own countries,

(d) the shortage of skilled labour.

This account shows that when there was a keen desire to develop modern industries in India, under pressure of War, with Indian resources, want of funds and want of skilled personnel did not hinder the progress although difficulties were felt. Dependence of Indian industries on foreign machinery was another handicap but even that did not retard the progress of industrialisation. Granted only adequate protection, it has been proved that India can develop her industries to a very large extent with her own resources. The shortness of time during which this was done indicates her great potentiality in industrial development. Where the structure of industry was smaller, the progress was more rapid. This progress increased employment in the country to a very substantial extent.

The Munitions Board depended on the medium and small industries which could come into production with small capital, indigenous experts and ready-made tools and implements. The Board did not approach the small industries with any object of encouraging cottage or small industries but had approached them only in their own interest. These industries supplied the Board with articles which before the War had almost ceased production in the country and were imported. For the period of War imports were stopped and competition between big and small industries was eliminated. Opportunity of the additional demand created due to heavy Government purchase was so great that all the types of factories, big, medium and small, were able to take the fullest advantage. Production increased because demand increased. No doubt it was a War demand. The Government was the purchaser and the goods purchased were required mostly for destruction in the war. It has, however, been proved that if the direction of demand be changed and the demand comes from the people during peace time and due to an increase in their purchasing power, production can keep pace with the growing demand. Even when the demand is sudden and very large such increase in production through small units has the additional advantage of a large increase in employment. The co-ordination between large and small industries that came about under stress of War may also be effected during the peace time under a definite plan. If the small industries with their slender resources could supply such a huge demand, i.e., a War demand and the civil demand of the people enjoying additional purchasing power that came into circulation, there is no reason why they should not do the same under normal conditions. The Munitions Board and the Industrial Commission were critical about the products of the large industries but they have generally appreciated the quality of the products of the small factories. From the comments of the Board and the Commission it appears that although a good deal of rust had accumulated on the Indian products, culture will remove the rust and bring them out again in their old shining golden light.

The Munitions Board and the Industrial Commission's Report both admitted the potentiality of Indian small industries. The maximum employability in this sector was admitted.

The anxiety of the Government of India during the last decades of the 19th Century about the economic distress of the Indian people had made them think about plans for the elimination of such appalling poverty. Such poverty was eliminated to a very large extent under pressure of War through a revival of cottage industries. This fact might have struck the Industrial Commission when they recognised, in their Report, the labour-absorbing capacity of the small industries and said that this was a necessity for a large and highly populated country like India. During the War years when the twofold competition, namely from imports and large factory products, was eliminated the smallest assistance brought about a rapid and widespread expansion of the small industry. That is, it was proved that the Indian small industries can stand on their own legs even when only one difficulty was removed, i.e., they got an assured market. It was also proved that they had almost indefinite capacity to produce more and to employ more men.

In 1939 on the outbreak of the Second World War it was again demonstrated that Indian industries have ample potentialities and may flourish with proper assistance. The small industries were again called upon to undertake war supplies and again they responded in a splendid manner.

Overseas orders exceeding Rs. 160 crores were placed in India during the first two years of the War. These orders covered a wide range of manufactured goods. It has been estimated that as many as 20,000 articles required by a modern army had been manufactured in this Country. The change brought in the economic structure as the Historian of the Supply Department, Government of India, has put it was as follows :[11]

(a) From the point of view of agricultural production, there has not been much change except a slight shift from the production of raw materials and non-good crops to the production of good crops like rice and wheat.

(b) As far as the main pre-war industries like cotton textiles, jute, coal, tea, sugar and matches are concerned, the change in production is practically negligible. Some other industries like iron and steel, cement, paper, etc., have however achieved some increase in output, while there has been an appreciable increase in the number of small engineering establishments in the variety and volume of works done by them. Ordnance Factories have increased in large number, and production of munitions and army equipment has risen many times over their pre-War levels

(c) The cessation or curtailment of imports brought about a rise in the output of certain industries, viz., glass, electric bulbs and fans, canned goods, biscuits and confectionary, pharmaceuticals and drugs, surgical instruments and appliances, heavy and fine chemicals.

In this huge production the cottage and small industries played a very important part. As a consequence, the Historian of the Supply Department remarked that employment has increased substantially since the outbreak of the war.

It was not for the Second World War alone. Four other factors also encouraged this industrial advancement, viz., (1) Government gave an assurance of extending protection against unfair foreign competition to industries, created to meet War requirements, after the War; (2) Government of India started a Board of Scientific and Industrial Research; (3) it also tried to solve the shortage of technicians by launching technical training scheme and (4) the establishment of Post War Reconstruction Committees helped a smooth transition from War to peace economy.

But it should be remembered that whatever steps the Government had taken in respect of industrial development were taken with the object of expansion of production only. The question of employment was not the issue before them and hence it was totally neglected.

It is for this reason that the need and effectiveness of a dispersal of industries was not realised and our greatest problem namely unemployment and consequent idleness of a very large number of people was left unsolved. The problem however was acute with the educated middle class people. The scope for white-collar technicians in large factories was still restricted. Small industries could have absorbed them. But it was neglected because the absorption of man-power in gainful employment was not the objective of the State policy. The unemployment problem in independent India was left as a legacy of the British Rule.

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[11] Oversea Economic Series, India, 1949.

The economic history of India for the last two centuries shows that the small industries can thrive well and provide employment, either through independent units or through subsidiary occupations in addition to agriculture, in very large numbers, only when one primary condition is satisfied, viz., the market is assured. When market is assured, the producing units spontaneously grow up. They find their own finance even by pawning the jewellery of their womenfolk. They secure their own raw materials. When production expands, competition starts and equality begins to improve. The industries can continue either as ancillaries or as producers of complete products.

In the 20th Century, the Indian small industries have found assured market during the two World Wars. After Independence some industries have benefited through a change in the Government's stores purchase policy. Purchase of small industry products is being encouraged. Some industries are taking advantage of the restriction of imports while some of them who depend on imported raw materials are suffering.

The biggest difficulty of our small industries lies in the dual competiton, i.e., competition from imported goods and competition from national big industries. India adopted the policy of protection against imported goods for the development of her industries. As a result, industries thrived, production increased, the country became independent of the imported products, but it did not solve the problem of empoyment. If the policy of protection is extended to the small industries against these two competitors, it is certain that they will quickly develop and provide employment in an ever increasing manner. Even if there be some rise in price as a result of such protection, it will be offset by a rise in employment and creation of fresh purchasing power. The sacrifice will be temporary and will not be higher than that which had to be rendered during the period of protection of big industries against foreign competition. The suggestion of the Mahalanobis Plan Frame in this respect was a sound one. Development of small industries by spoonfeeding through subsidies cannot place them on a secure and permanent foundation. Modern researches have proved that small industries can have both the virtues of economy, efficiency and lower cost.

FORESTS AND FOREST RESOURCES OF INDIA

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

With a fast-growing population at the rate of roughly five million a year, India needs more and more land for the production of more food, for housing, erection of factories, roads and railways, research and educational institutions, universities, hospitals, sanatoria, national parks and garden cities, industrial centres, creation of lakes of huge dimensions, etc., from year to year. Moreover, the land needed for each class is inadequate for the present population inasmuch as under foreign rule no attention worth the name was bestowed on what are deemed essential for all-round healthy growth of a civilized nation. With the attainment of Independence the nation is trying to make up lee-way for what is found lacking and has suddenly been brought to a sense of deficiency in respect of land accentuated by the unfortunate partition of the country.

Of the various uses the most important is the land for cultivation that presently grows food, or land capable of producing food such as current fallows, other fallow lands and culturable wastes, i.e., "(i) all lands which have once been cultivated but were later abandoned due to one reason or the other, and (ii) areas definitely known to be culturable provided both these types of land can be reclaimed at a reasonable cost and with a reasonable effort. Such land may either be fallow or covered with shrubs and jungles which are not put to any use."

The next important group directly concerned with the growing of alternative diets (milk, etc.,) and other field crops are (i) permanent pastures and other grazing grounds and (ii) land under miscellaneous tree crops, etc., i.e., "cultivated land which is not included in 'net area sown' but is put to some agricultural use, such as 'land under Casurina trees, thatching grasses, bamboo bushes and other groves for fuel, etc., which are not included under orchards."

In order of importance regarding use of land as stated above, the essentiality of forests in human existence is most undeservingly overlooked.

Before man had learnt the use of even the most crude implements for growing food and had completely to depend on the bounties of nature, forests provided him with all his wants: it was so simple to collect or pluck fruits to allay his hunger. The shadow of forests and the mountain caves served for him his shelter to rest his limbs. In forests, made habitable and comparatively safe, the highest summit, of human thought and spiritual life were attained.

The importance of forests is fully realised when it comes to the assessment of influence they had exercised on the distribution of human race. Centres of human habitation grew up on the fringes of forests that could supply the want of food, be it fruits or small animals including birds, without much risk and effort to himself. The march of man from his original home has been directed and diverted by natural barriers of which the forest is the most important.

The forest lost some of its all-pervading influence when the question of food and clothing materials was relegated to the domain of agriculture. It can be easily surmised that it took thousands of years before man reached such a high stage of economic development. Still man had to depend on forests to a very large extent for meeting his other needs such as materials for house and boat building and fuel for heating and cooking. For many centuries timber has successfully withstood the onslaughts of other building materials such as brick, stone, steel and the like. But regarding its supremacy in the field of fuel it had considerably to give place to coal (a product of wood), oil, natural gas and water as a source of heat and motive power. What it has lost in this respect, it has gained as a raw material of great industrial significance.

Forests have yielded lands for cultivation and gradually for other purposes through deforestation which had proceeded without any regard to its baneful consequences. The welfare of human society, it is overlooked, is closely knit with the existence of forests.

It is difficult to enumerate all the benefits which are bestowed by the forests on man in the order of their importance.

In protecting the top-soil from erosion and thus preserving the fertility and helping in the growth of future vegetation, forests have the largest contribution. The net-work of roots of closely growing trees, big and small, affords protection to the mother earth on which they grow and holds the earth firmly in its place. Moreover, by breaking the force of the stream-flow, caused by heavy rains, with the roots, the trees increase the resistance of the soil to erosive action of the water and the distribution of a large volume over a wide surface becomes possible.

A complete prevention of erosion is not possible but it can be greatly reduced and if this objective is not attained the silting up of the river beds attended with devastating floods in vast stretches of land lying on both sides of the river becomes irresistible. The ramifications provided by the roots of trees is the best that nature could design. It has been said that "except for a large layer of concrete, there is nothing known that will hold the soil so firmly on sloping land as a cover of trees." Further, the thick foliage of forests breaks the mighty force of torrential rains beating the soil directly and causing looseness in its consistency.

If forests cannot prevent floods, surely they mitigate their destructive character and partially control them. The tree trunks, roots and the undergrowth divide the rushing water into several weaker streams. The dead trees, branches and twigs, mosses and ferns, resting on the floor of forests obstruct the rush of water of which a large volume percolates into the lower strata of the earth, which is not possible when water in large volumes rush towards a lower level leaving very little for absorption by the soil over which it passes.

There is close relation between the temperature and rainfall of a country inasmuch as "forests lower the temperature of the inside and above it. The vertical influence of forests upon temperature extends, in cases, to a height of 5,000 feet," writes Raphael Zon, author of **Forest Resources of the World.** The influence of forests on temperature is most noticeable in tropical and sub-tropical regions. Naturally the temperature of the soil covered by forests is lower and the forest atmosphere is similarly cooler than what is found in uncovered tracts. "In summer, the relative humidity of the air is higher in the forest than in the open." It is common knowledge based on observations of ages that "forests increase both the abundance and frequency of local precipitation over the areas they occupy." Woytinsky, W. S. and E. S. writing in **World Population and Production** observes that "forests increase the amount of moisture in the wind and thus provide additional precipitation in the areas beyond their limits. Wind absorbs at least as much moisture in passing over a square mile of forest as over a square mile of water."—(Forests and Mankind by Pack & Ors.).

Forests have served as natural windbreaks to human habitation. In the plains particularly during the hot weather, when strong currents of wind and desert gales sweep the fields lying deep in the neighbouring areas dessicating and singeing the crops, forests serve as belts against "the hot blown soil that is deposited deep into the country helping in the formation of sand dunes" in such localities.

Because of the purity of forest-air, its hygienic influence is well recognised. It is free from dirt and dust, smoke and injurious gases. The atmosphere of its surroundings is pleasing, sombre, free from noises and shocks that play deleteriously on human nerves. While cities and other congested localites are full of unhealthy bacteria, forests are comparatively free in this respect.

The oxygen released by the green foliage of trees is really invigorating. Ozone is found in appreciable quantity in forest areas. It has been maintained by specialists that "villages surrounded by forests are never visited by cholera, and in India the troops are removed to barracks built in the forest to arrest the disease."—(R. Zon).

Though individual taste is the determining factor in the matter of selection of a locality, it may be said without fear of much contradiction that forest areas are more congenial to men who want to lead a quiet life in close communion with nature enjoying physical health and mental tranquillity. For healthy recreation centres, after-care colonies and sanatoria for convalescents, the forest area is deemed to be the best. It is not without reason that the Hindu Shastras enjoined a sojourn to the forest in old age to pass the rest of the life in meditation for higher spiritual bliss.

From the early days of human society uptill now forests have served as hunting grounds and "a retreat from the enemy attacks," providing in addition a great bulwark against invasion. With highly efficient equipments of modern warfare, troops will not still be able to pass through trackless forests and would have to find out a way that lies elsewhere.

Thus the services rendered by forests indirectly are more valuable than the physical economic products that forests can supply. But the worth of such articles are not negligible. Besides wood and timber, barks, rubber, tanning materials, dyestuff, fruits and nuts, cinchona, camphor, grass, bamboo, canes and rattans, gums and resins, vegetable drugs, and a host of other commodities are exploited from the forest.

In spite of the instrinsic value of the forests denudation has proceeded all over the world with India figuring prominently in the list. It has almost reached the danger point and further loss of forest regions cannot be looked upon with equanimity.

According to the **Indian Agricultural Statistics,** 1955-56, Vol. I (p. iv), land in India has been classified in the following manner:

(See Table in the next column)

Thousand acres

Heads	1955-56	1954-55	Increase (+) Decrease (—)
Reporting areas (i.e., area according to village papers	719,555 (100·0)	719,210 (100·0)	+345
1. Forests	125,554 (17·4)	123,774 (17·2)	+1,780
2. Not available for cultivation	188,388 (16·5)	120,078 (16·7)	—1,690
3. Other uncultivated land other than fallow	96,979 (13·5)	97,989 (13·6)	—1,010
4. Fallow lands	60,414 (18·4)	61,612 (18·5)	—1,198
5. Net area sown	318,220 (44·2)	315,757 (44·0)	+2,463

(Figures within brackets show the percentage of the total for each individual year).

Then forests come to occupy only 17.4 per cent of the total reporting areas according to village papers. There is a major discrepancy with the figures published in **Indian Forest Statistics** (1954-55, Vol. 1)—the latest that is available in which the percentage is 22·3 (instead of 17·4) calculated on the basis of 1,259,793 sq. miles as the total geographical area (according to the Surveyor General's Report) out of which forests cover 280,896 sq. miles.

In any case the forest area is much lower than India's requirements; particularly so when the Government aims at "maintaining one-third of its total land under forests."

Even then the forest is most unevenly distributed amongst the different States of India in which Madhya Pradesh holds the highest proportion. Before Madhya Bharat had been merged with 3,517,000 acres. Madhya Pradesh had 32,380,000 acres all to itself. Next is Assam with 12,042,000 acres. Bombay without accretion under the Reorganisation of States possessed 10,776,000 acres and Bihar (9,881,000 acres), Andhra Pradesh (9,024,000 acres), Orissa (8,799,000 acres), U.P. (8,713,000 acres) and Madras (6,024,000 acres) are those coming next in importance.

With the idea of checking further deforestation and making up the deficiency, the national policy of India is formulated on the basis of six paramount needs of the country, viz.,

(1) The need for evolving a system of balanced and complementary land-use, under which each type of land is allotted to that form of use under which it would produce most and deteriorate least;

(2) The need for checking:

(a) denudation in mountainous regions, on which depends the perennial water supply of the river system whose basins constitute the fertile core of the country,

(b) the erosion progressing apace along the treeless banks of the great rivers leading to ravine formation, and on vast stretches of undulating wastelands depriving the adjoining fields of their fertility,

(c) the invasion of sea-sands on coastal tracts and the shifting of sand dunes, more particularly the Rajputana desert;

(3) The need for establishing tree-lands, wherever possible, for amelioration of physical and climatic conditions promoting the general well-being of the people;

(4) The need for ensuring progressively increasing supplies of grazing, small wood for agricultural implements, and in particular of firewood to release the cattle-dung for manure to step up food production;

(5) The need for sustained supply of timber and other forest produce required for defence, communications and industry;

(6) The need for the realisation of the maximum annual revenue in perpetuity consistent with the fulfilment of the needs enumerated above.

The vital needs indicate the functions forests are to fulfil, and provide the fundamental basis of the policy governing the future.

WORLD AGRICULTURE FAIR

By PARIMAL CHANDRA MUKHERJEE

Agricultural fairs date back to the dawn of civilisation. These take place periodically in different countries to demonstrate their own harvests. But no such fair has been organised on an international scale. The World Agriculture Fair now on display in Delhi is therefore not only a novel affair, but it is also a grand spectacle of the astonishing changes that have occurred from the time man learnt to upturn the virgin soil to the present day when atomic power is in our service.

In this process of revolutionary changes, while some of the countries like the USA and the USSR are in the front line other countries like our own are very much behind them. The result is obvious. For food, shelter and almost all branches of human activities we have to include our name in all conceivable foreign-aid schemes. Not only circumstances but we ourselves are also responsible for that.

The initiative of the Bharat Krishak Samaj to organise the present World Agriculture Fair deserves congratulations. Fourteen different countries and two international organisations have taken part in the Fair. In the national sector there are the different states of India. In addition there are pavilions representing (1) Agriculture; (2) Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Science; (3) Horticulture; (4) Forestry, Soil Conservation, Forest Industries, and Wild Life; (5) Agricultural Extension, Publicity and Publications; (6) Marketing, Warehousing; (7) Plant Protection; (8) Fertilizer, (9) Agricultural Machinery; (10) Indian Herbs and Medicine; (11) Food; (12) Rural Housing; (13) Irrigation and Power; and (14) Atomic Energy.

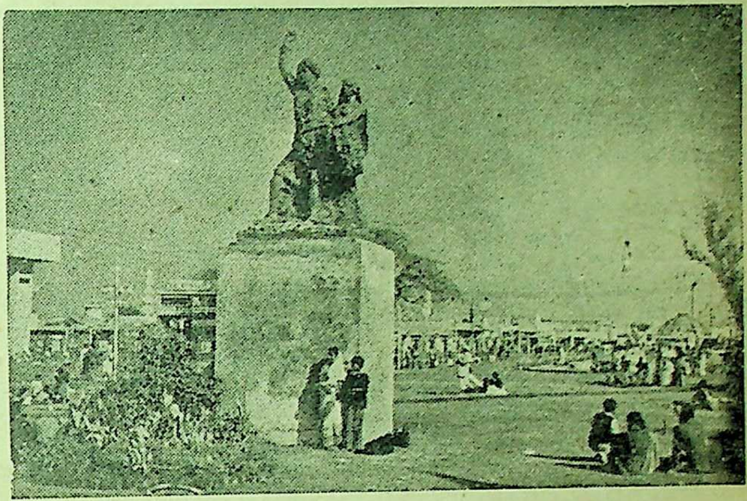
In addition, the Rural Industries Pavilion set up by the Khadi and Village Industries Commission represents the different States of India. In this pavilion one can see the villages of India with the characteristics brought out in bold relief.

The biggest and the grandest show has been presented by the Government of the U.S.A. Its covered halls with beautiful golden domes and open spaces occupy about two and a half lakh square feet of space. It has been built at a legendary cost of 12·5 million rupees. This **Mela USA** or popularly known as Amriki Mela has been opened by no less a personality than President Eisenhower himself. In his message issued from the White House welcoming the Mela USA he states, "The values and goals highlighted in Mela USA—Food, Family, Friendship, and Freedom are among those shared by our two great democracies." After seeing the Mela one can come out not only with the knowledge of America's farms—yesterday and today, their land and its resources, how science and scientific instruments are wielded by the farmers, but also a complete cycle of their progress. In addition there are free joy-rides for the children which they claim to be a feature of every American County Fair.

There are the Mela Moving Picture Theatre where a constantly changing programme of films is shown on a regular schedule. Special mention must be made of the displays demonstrating the wonders of the atomic energy. The exhibit is introduced by a three-minute colour motion picture, projected on a unique hemispherical screen, in which the spectator can see many of the agricultural benefits of atomic research. These are some of the highlights of the USA pavilion.

Side by side stands the spectacular pavilion of the USSR. Facing the pavilion on the open grounds, one can see the sky-high column displaying the model of the Lunik. In addition to the various achievements of the Soviet Union in the field of Agriculture, general information about their industry may also be obtained. Models of the celebrated Sputniks are also there. Quite interesting is their electric map of the USSR. It also speaks. Should a visitor desire, a recorded voice will tell you in English or in Hindi about the various changes that have taken place and also narrate the corrections that will have to be made when the seven-year plan is fulfilled.

Then they show how nuclear radiation and radio-isotopes are used in scientific investigation in biology and agriculture. One can see the treatment of potatoes with gamma radiation. These potatoes are preserved in good condition throughout the year, inasmuch as gamma radiation treatment renders it immune to disease and destroys pests.



A general view of the Fair

As you move round, you will come across thousands of exhibits and a mass of figures. Supplementary to these are the cinema shows bringing to the visitor the fact that in the USSR amenities in the villages are at a level with the cities. This has been possible, they claim, by free collective and co-operative work amongst all categories of people, cities co-operating with villages.

Adjacent to this is the imposing structure of the Chinese pavilion built in their own fashion and depicting the latest achievements made by them in the field of Agriculture.

Then comes the pavilion of the German Democratic Republic, displaying amongst many other things a full-size glass cow demonstrating the complete mechanism of the production of milk in the body of the animal.

Poland has brought prefabricated structure for their pavilion. Like all other foreign pavilions they also display their latest advances in machinery to increase their agricultural production.

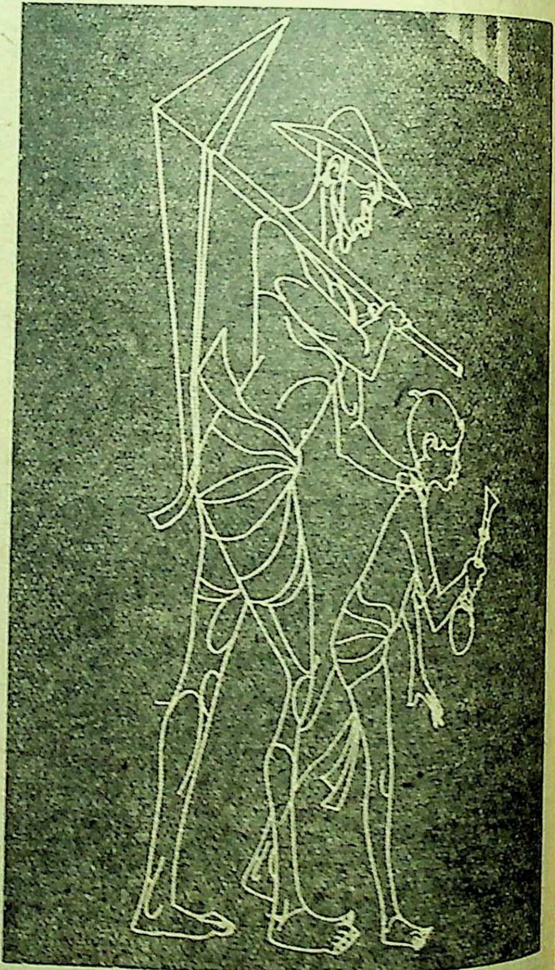
Although Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Mongolia, Pakistan, U.A.R., Iran, Iraq. and the Republic of Vietnam, are not specially described here, every one of them, without any exception, has shown their own achievements clearly indicating the gap that exists between them and our country in agricultural field. In fact, a move through the foreign pavilions makes an impression on the visitors about the great care they take about their cattle and poultry farming in contrast to the care we take of them in spite of the theoretical sacredness we have for cattle in general and cow in particular.

The Madras Pavilion
Gopuram—Rameswaram Temple

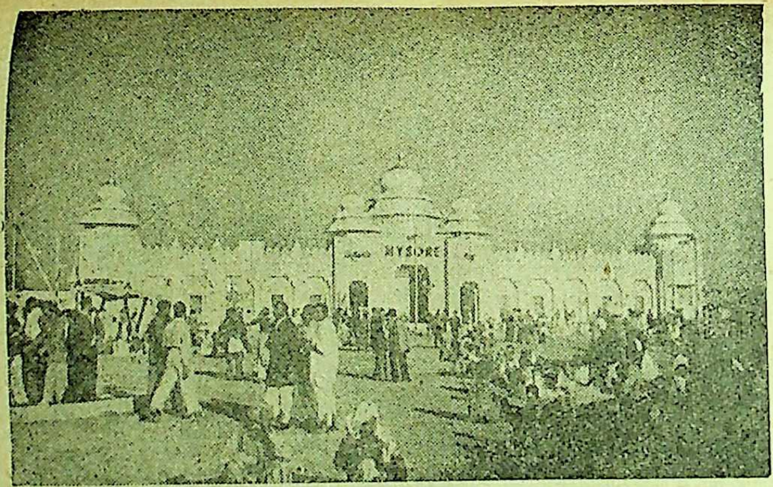
No less interesting is the States' Wing of the Fair, as all the different States of India are there with all the pomp and show befitting the occasion.

The Punjab has put up a massive stream-lined pavilion. The replica of the temple of Ramewsaram with its imposing Gopuram erected by Madras is wonderfu The Sanchi Stupa is reproduced by the MP The Bihar pavilion as presented in th Buddhist style, the Vidhan Saudha o Mysore, Kashmir with its enchanting Dal Lakes, the typically built Rajasthan pavilion, the Andaman House, Himachal Pradesh, Orissa, Kerala, and Andhra, all of them beckon you and remind the visitors th they are the sons and daughters of th same soil which they must nourish wi the greatest possible care to get the opti mum result.

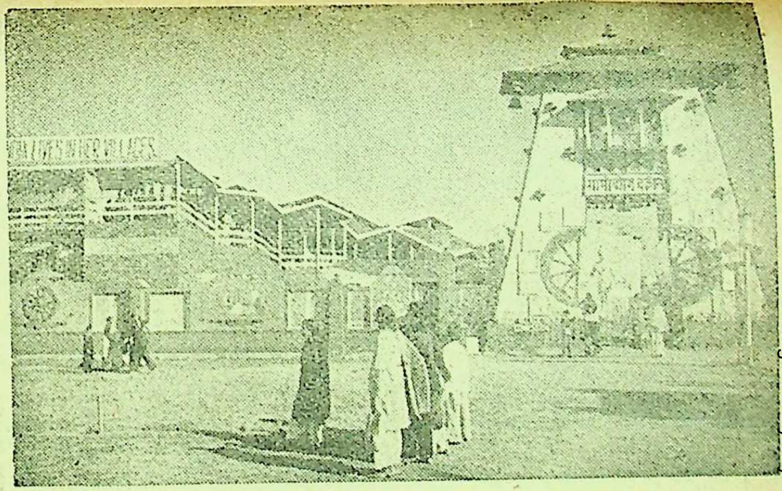
The West Bengal pavilion deserve special mention. In the introductory hal one comes across a wall-painting representing our great forefathers and the panorama of our land. The green level meadows, the flora and fauna of the land. the royal Bengal of the Sunderbans, are



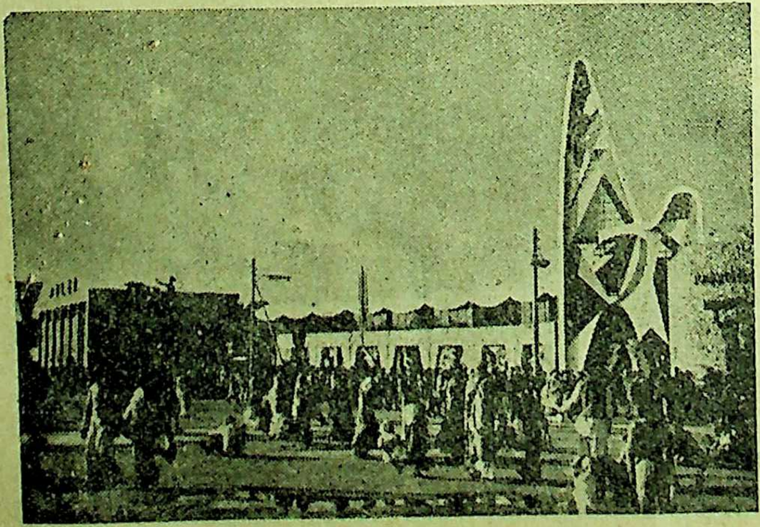
Leaders of Tomorrow—Assam Pavilion



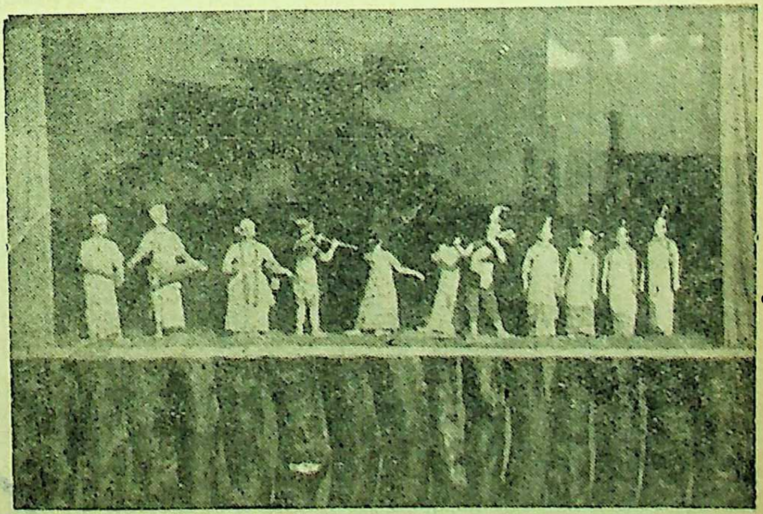
Mysore Pavilion



India lives in her village



Streamlined Punjab Pavilion



Manipuris and others living in regions bordering Assam charming. The working model, life-size and life-like, of a paddy husking device (Dheki) with three ladies' models in operation is bound to make an indelible impression.

Apart from so many countries and different States of India, there are other organisations, a brief mention of which has already been made in the beginning.

In spite of everything, the entire thing could have been boring had there been no attractive shopping centre and free entertainment by way of open-air dances and cinema shows of feature films and documentaries. Miniature trains and motor coaches frequently encircling the Fair make it more attractive.

The arrangements made to facilitate farmers to come and see for themselves are praiseworthy. They are aided by so many seminars and discussions. They must be initiated into the advanced techniques and methods without which they will never become self-reliant and will never be in a position to fill up the gap between the ever-increasing population and food production. This of course has to be done suiting their genius and tradition so that their acceptance may be spontaneous. On return to their respective places they should be organised and encouraged to tell all around them as to what they have seen and how they must apply henceforward drive away the menace of hunger for g

Another commonplace problem wh troubles many is the problem of food a vegetable preservation. The Central Food and Technological Research Institute has done it well to organise in the Science pav lion of the Fair a two-week course programme in food and vegetable preserv tion by way of lectures and practicals.

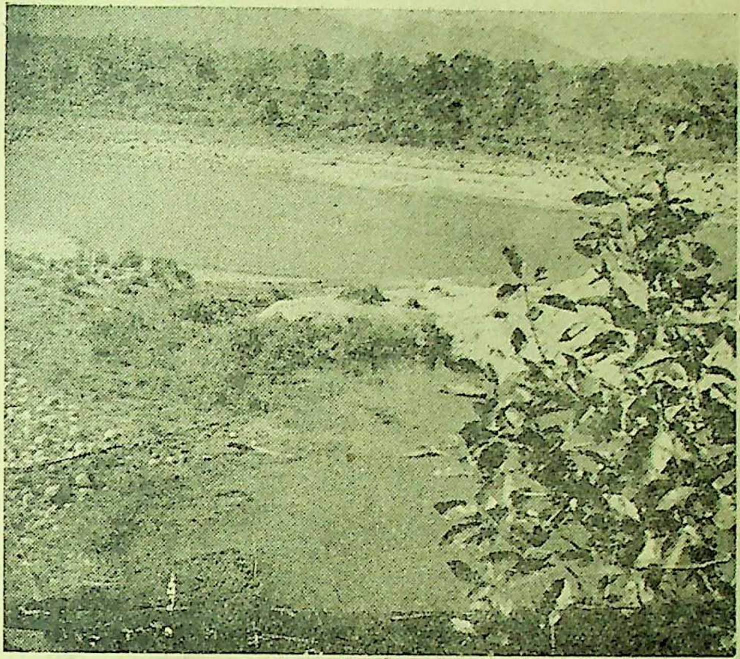
What has been stated above is o very a small fraction of the information th you can gather from the Fair. To put in the words of President Eisenhower, t Fair as organised shows that "Today, w have the scientific capacity to abolish fr the world scene at least this one evil, b tragic and inhuman, hunger that emaciat the bodies of the children, that scars t souls of their parents, that stirs the pass of those who toil endlessly and earn o scraps. Men, right now, possess t knowledge and the resource for a succes ful worldwide war against hunger—the s of war that dignifies and exalts hum beings."

If we are not spurred to action, th Fair will go down in history as a colos waste. We should not allow history t blame us.

(Photos: By the author).

CORBETT NATIONAL PARK

Ideal Resort for Wild Life Study

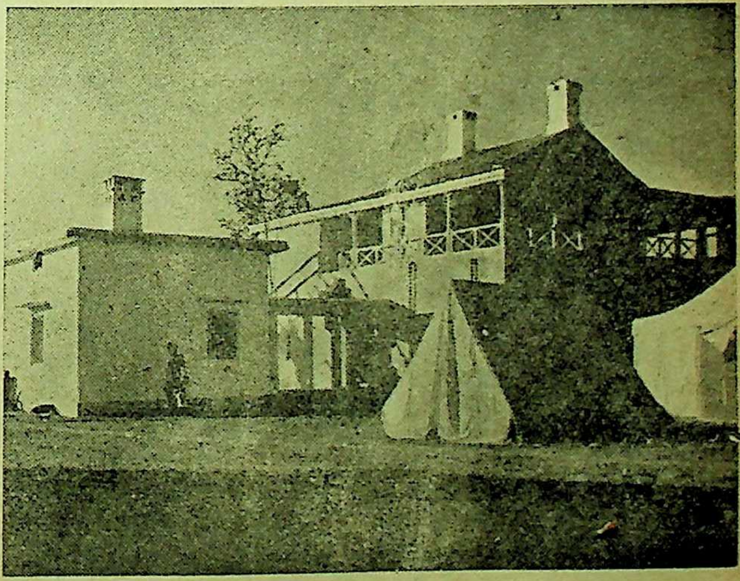


A view of the Ramganga which surrounds the Corbett National Park on two sides

Situated in the foothills of the Himalayas, partly in Garhwal District and partly in Nainital District of Uttar Pradesh, the Corbett National Park is only 182 miles from Delhi by road. In this wild life preserve spread over 125 sq., miles of thickly-wooded hills and grass-covered valleys almost every type of Himalayan foot-hill flora abounds.

It is ideally located. It has thickly-wooded hills of 'Sal' and 'Haldu' trees providing good cover for the wild animals. It has a number of grass-covered valleys which provide feeding grounds for the herbivorae. And it has plenty of fresh water from a number of streams which join the Ramganga river. The river itself surrounds the Park on two sides. The Park is a quiet resort for visitors who wish to see wild life in its natural, undisturbed state.

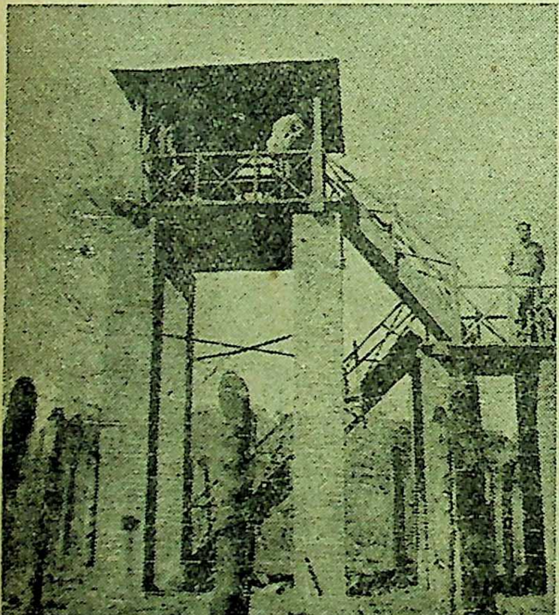
One can see tiger, elephant, leopard, sloth-bear, sambhar, spotted deer, hog



The Dhikala Forest Rest House in the Corbett National Park

A scene of a tiger prowling in the high reeds and grass in the Corbett National Park

deer, wild pig, porcupine, flying squirrel and goral among animals; python and crocodile among reptiles; and among birds, jungle fowl, pheasant, black partridge, green and rock pigeon, dove, hornbill, egret, heron, kingfisher, blue-jay, mynah and parakeets. In the Ramganga mahaseer, some weighing 80 lbs., and goonch fish are in plenty. The best season is from February to the end of May. Monsoon rains cut off the Park from outside till the end of November.



An observation tower near Paterpani Forest Rest House in the Corbett National Park

There are a number of forest rest-houses in the Park area. Commanding a beautiful view of the Ramganga river and the high ranges of the Himalayas, Dhikala in the Patli Dun, a broad flat valley, has a furnished doubled-storeyed forest rest-house, a tourist hutment and students' dormitory. For visitors crockery, cutlery, cooking utensils, light and running water are available. A cook's services are available too.

Eight watch towers and machans have been set up in the Park for study and photography of wild life. Two trained elephants are stationed at Dhikala to take tourists round the Park, and an officer from the Forest Department is posted there to guide and help them.—P.I.B.

THE GIFT OF GORDON BATTELLE

Battelle Memorial Institute

By WILLIAM A. ARTER

Because a watch manufacturer wanted a durable watch spring, a housewife of Detroit, Michigan, today leads a normal life instead of the dreary existence of an invalid afflicted with heart disease. Connecting these seemingly disparate items are 12 years of research at the Battelle Memorial Institute in Columbus, Ohio, to produce a special alloy, and another year of research and testing to fashion a spring from it. It is such a spring which enables the defective mitral valve of Mrs. Mabel Streeter's heart to close firmly at each heartbeat, preventing blood from leaking back into her lungs.

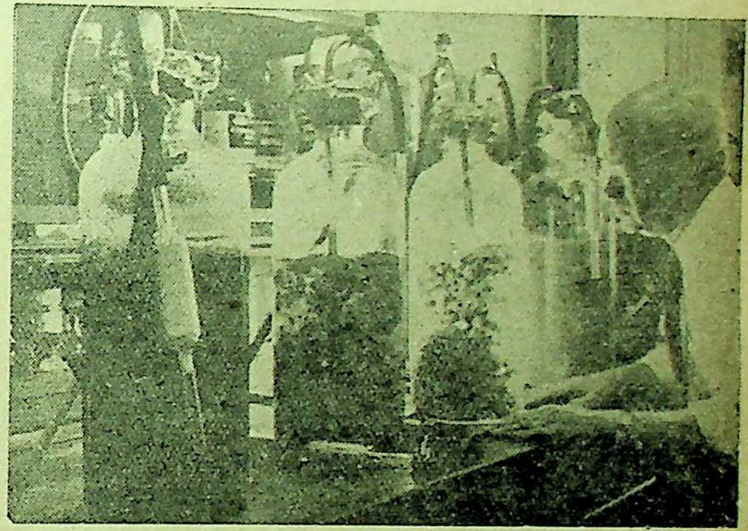
The story is a dramatic example of how industrial research serves the cause of human welfare.

Dr. James Wible, of Wayne University Medical School in Detroit, had long pondered the possibility of repairing defective heart valves such as Mrs. Streeter's in this fashion. But he knew of no spring material which would combine all the necessary properties and give unfailing service for many years, free from rust and corrosion and compatible with body fluids.

One day, as he passed a jeweller's shop, a wristwatch display caught his eye: "The Heart That Never Breaks," a slogan said of the watch's spring. Dr. Wible went inside, and learned that the Elgin Watch Company had so much confidence in its Elgiloy spring that it guaranteed the spring for the life of the watch. Dr. Wible decided to pursue the matter further. He visited Elgin and discussed his problem with technical director Thomas Green, who cooperated eagerly, fabricating Elgiloy springs to Dr. Wible's specifications. Over 75 of them were used by Wayne University doctors in experiments with dogs, to perfect surgical techniques.

Finally, they were ready for Mrs. Streeter. A diamond-shaped spring, sheathed in nylon, was attached to her heart. Soon the spring would be covered with new flesh by endothelium action, and would restore the mitral valve to proper functioning.

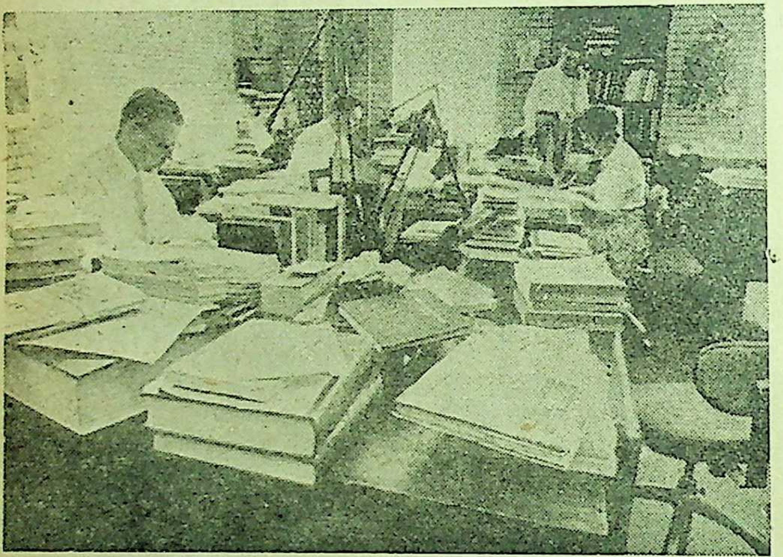
Thirteen months after the spring went into action the doctors reported the operation and its results in a medical journal. Once chronically ill and bedridden as a result of an attack of rheumatic fever, Mrs. Streeter had made a dramatic recovery. She was doing housework, shopping for her family, climbing stairs. X-rays showed that her greatly enlarged heart had returned to practically normal size. At the time the paper was prepared the tiny spring had flexed over 38 million times, and was expected to continue for a normal lifetime.



Experiments for economical factory production of palatable protein foods at the Battelle Memorial Institute in Columbus, Ohio

Such a miracle of prosthetic surgery was possible only because there happened to be a metal like Elgiloy. But **happened** is not quite the word. This remarkable alloy was brought into being through 12 years of diligent research and careful experimentation at the Battelle Memorial Institute. At the request of the Elgin

Company, concerned with the problem of spring breakage, a team of metallurgists, metallographers, chemists, and other technical experts tackled the problem systematically. They tested a number of materials, including stainless steel, copper-beryllium alloys, molybdenum, and tungsten, carefully noting both advantages and weaknesses. They found that some combination of cobalt, chromium, and molybdenum gave strength and corrosion resistance. Nickel, iron, and manganese were added for workability. Carbon and beryllium improved the alloy's recoil power.



The Library staff of the Battelle Memorial Institute informs the scientists of the recent experiments

Battelle scientists prepared and tested many combinations of these metals, and finally found one that met all requirements perfectly. Elgiloy began its useful career in watches; later came its use in toaster pop-up mechanisms, reed valves, drawing instruments—and, eventually, in the human heart.

Son of a dynamic industrialist who had risen from a humble clerkship to the presidency of an iron and steel works and to great wealth, Gordon Battelle became a metallurgist and started working in his father's enterprises. In 1914, he struck out on his own and began developing lead mining and smelting operations in the State of Missouri. There Battelle met an old friend, W. George Waring, a former professor of his who was trying to "make something out of nothing"—working to recover valuable materials from mine tailings and mine water. Battelle lent a hand by building a small laboratory for Waring.

Watching with fascination the successful development of Waring's project, Battelle was deeply impressed. The commercial value of the recovery process may not have been too significant, but in the idea behind it he saw a genuine service to humanity: the use of science for the recovery of valuable material from former waste products. While Battelle spoke and wrote little on this subjects, he started acting. He spent a year visiting laboratories throughout the United States, gathering ideas, studying ways to further applied research not only as a means of making industry more efficient and productive but as a positive contribution to people's welfare.

Gordon Battelle died suddenly at 40, following an operation, but his dream took concrete shape in the Battelle Memorial Institute "for the encouragement of creative research . . . and the making of discoveries and inventions in connection with . . . industries." To the Institute he left the bulk of his wealth, and the endowment was more than doubled two years later when his mother willed most of her estate to the Institute.

Dr. Horace W. Gillett, former chief of the metallurgy division of the U.S. Bureau of Standards, was the Institute's first director. His passion for accuracy, incisive reasoning, and scientific integrity was balanced by natural warmth and friendliness, and from the beginning an informal friendly atmosphere characterized the Institute. Co-operation was a key word at Battelle, then as today, and the idea of "team research," relatively new when the

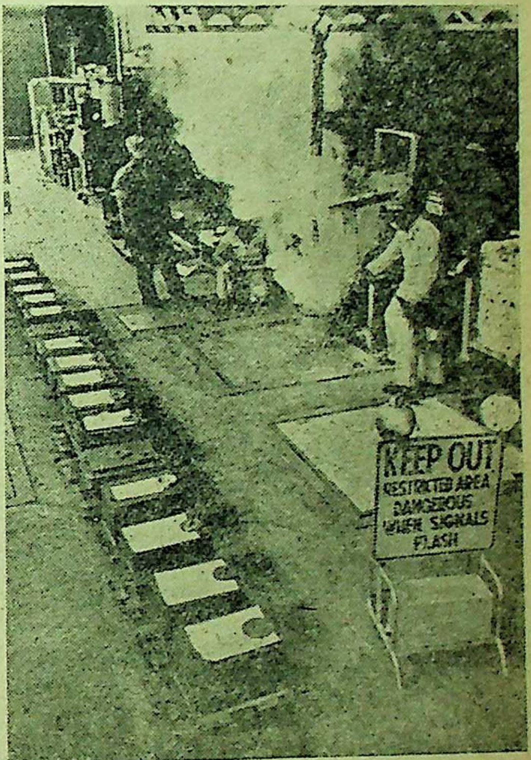
Institute opened in 1929, was its cornerstone.

An example of team research shows how effective it can be, and how it can save both money and labor: Some years ago a group of oil-well drillers commissioned the Institute to find a remedy for excessive underground breakage of drilling pipe. Battelle Institute put together a team of metallurgists, metallographers, physicists, corrosion chemists, and experts in materials engineering. The team attacked the problem on several fronts simultaneously, and in 10 months had identified the many factors contributing to pipe breakage. No single cause or cure existed, but the team found a solution through a many-faceted remedy. The solution saved enormous amounts, while the cost of the research was only a fraction of what was often lost in drilling a single well.

The growth of Battelle Institute parallels that of industrial research as a whole, which accounts for over half the current production of many businesses. When Dr. Clyde Williams became director of the Institute in 1934, expenditures for its research totalled $126,000. By 1940 the figure was $500,000 and the growth since has been a phenomenal 4,500 per cent, making Battelle the nation's largest not-for-profit, independent research institute. Its staff has grown from 20 to over 3,000, and its plant has more than 22½ acres (9 hectares) of floor space.

Notwithstanding these staggering statistics, the Institute's projects are not all huge and costly. There are many such, of course, but also many small ones: Two years ago, there were 643 separate research studies in progress. Some minor ones requiring only standard laboratory equipment may cost $1,000 or less, so that even small companies can and do use the enormous facilities of the Institute. The statistically "average" project currently costs less than $30,000 per year's work. Comparing such costs with the expense of building, outfitting, and staffing a private research laboratory, one sees what a boon the Institute is to small companies, which can buy from it as much research as they need, when they need it, without costly permanent overhead.

Very large companies, often with vast research facilities of their own, turn to the Institute for other reasons. It may be that their specialized laboratories lack the equipment for a certain project, or that a Battelle Institute scientist or team has already done promising work in a certain field. Or it may be that the company needs additional facilities and manpower for a temporary overflow volume of research. The Institute is on call for any project, large or small, serving all industry on the same basis.

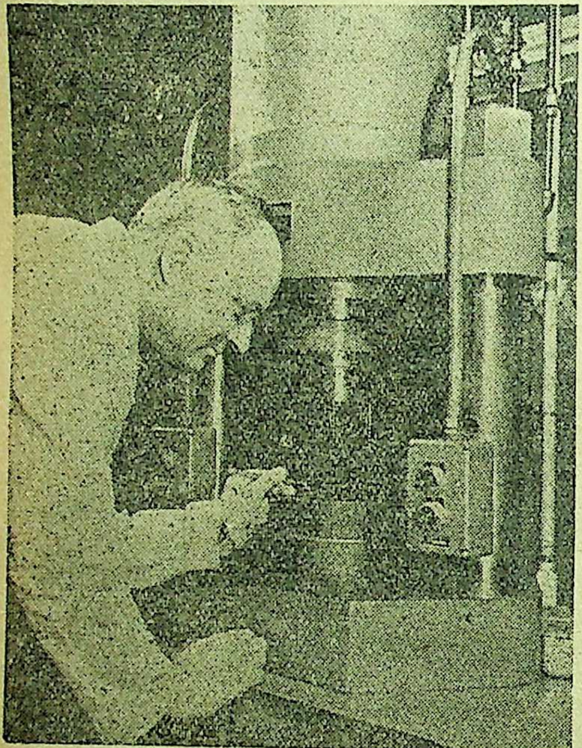


Workers in the experimental foundry for testing different types of furnaces and sand molds

Serving industry, however, was only the first step in Gordon Battelle's plan. He wanted research ultimately to benefit everyone. And that often is the result of research at the Institute, as well as at the many other research organizations throughout the country. A few examples from the

Institute's current files suggest the extent of its contribution.

Factory production of palatable protein foods is a case in point. Promising results have been obtained with rapid-growth algae, but these, though nutritious, are not tasty. The Institute's pilot experiments with factory-grown morel mushrooms have produced a high-protein food with full consumer acceptance by an easy, economical, and rapid new process.



This tiny spring, made of an alloy developed for watches, can withstand 70 tons of pressure

In another field, several groups of Battelle scientists are studying different methods of food preservation. Least radical of those under development is an "electronic refrigerator" which does away with the need for a compressor. The principle being employed was discovered by the French physicist Jean Peltier more than a hundred years ago: that when current flows in a certain way across the boundary between two dissimilar metals, heat is absorbed from the surrounding medium. A new material developed by solid-state physicists at Battelle Institute makes it possible to exploit this process and produce cold with less expenditure of electric energy than that of a standard compressor-type system. People may soon be able to have absolutely silent refrigeration at less cost.

Pure water supply, so often taken for granted, is becoming a matter of first concern in many communities, and Battelle Institute has tackled this problem by conducting several studies on ways to demineralize sea water, the one inexhaustible source. One promising method literally freezes out salts in a continuous process that may be set up on a huge scale. Another experiment employs the sun's energy in a continuously operating solar still.

Most research seeks a material to satisfy a need. Battelle Institute, on occasion, is asked to reverse the process and find new needs for an existing material. A group of copper producers, for instance, were interested in finding new, non-metallurgical uses for copper. Battelle scientists went to work, with most interesting and beneficial results. Added to the fertilizer ordinarily used in some tobacco-growing areas, copper increased yields by as much as one-third—bringing the farmer $40 for every dollar he spent on the new copper compound. Properly used, copper could also be useful in ship-hull paints to reduce barnacle infestation, which can add as much as a hundred tons to the weight of a vessel, increasing fuel consumption and requiring unproductive dry-dock time while barnacles are being removed. Still another use of copper exploits its fungicidal properties; added to concrete mixtures, it gives protection against athlete's foot in shower rooms, bath houses, and swimming pools.

Even the brifest mention of the Institute's recent and current studies would take pages; they range from the use of nuclear energy in manufacturing to the development of improved eyeglass frames, washing machines, and a host of other consumer products; from the welding of many "unweldable" metals to producing plastic materials for dozens of uses, and to developing improved pharmaceuticals.

The Battelle Institute is well aware of its debt to science at large, and strives to be a good citizen in the community of scientists by sharing its findings and contributing to the common fund of knowledge. The monthly Battelle Technical Review carries two comprehensive staff-written articles and some 1,500 abstracts, and Battelle staff members publish hundreds of technical papers, articles and reports; they also prepare, in whole or in part, a number of technical books. In a year, the Institute's information service distributes over a hundred thousand reprints of technical papers and other literature, and gives scientific technological help to thousands of people. Gordon Battelle's dream of wedding scientific theory and research with industrial practice has indeed brought signifcant benefits to people everywhere.—USIS.

JADUNATH SARKAR'S COLLECTION

For National Library

An eminent historian's treasure of books changed hands on March 19, and became the nation's property.

Built up over a period of 60 years, by the late Dr. Jadunath Sarkar, the invaluable collection has been donated by his heirs to the National Library.

The historian's wife, Shrimati Kadambini Sarkar, formally handed over two volumes of manuscripts from the collection, signifying the transfer, to the Librarian, Shri B. S. Kesavan, at a ceremony at her residence here.

The two manuscripts are of *Tarikh-i-Shah Shujai*, a history of Shah Shuja, and *Ibrat Namah*, a history of Shah Alam II. Both are in Persian.

Students of history have always regarded Dr. Sarkar's collection as a mine of source materials for the study of the Mughal and the British periods of Indian history.

Besides their intrinsic value, many books in the collection acquire a spcial significance from the marginal notes made by the historian. These will be an important guide to the future generations using the books.

The collection consists of printed books, journals, pamphlets, off-prints from journals, manuscripts, photo-copies of rare manuscripts and maps totalling about 2,500. It includes some unpublished writings of Dr. Sarkar, mainly translation into English of extremely rare documents in Persian and other languages.

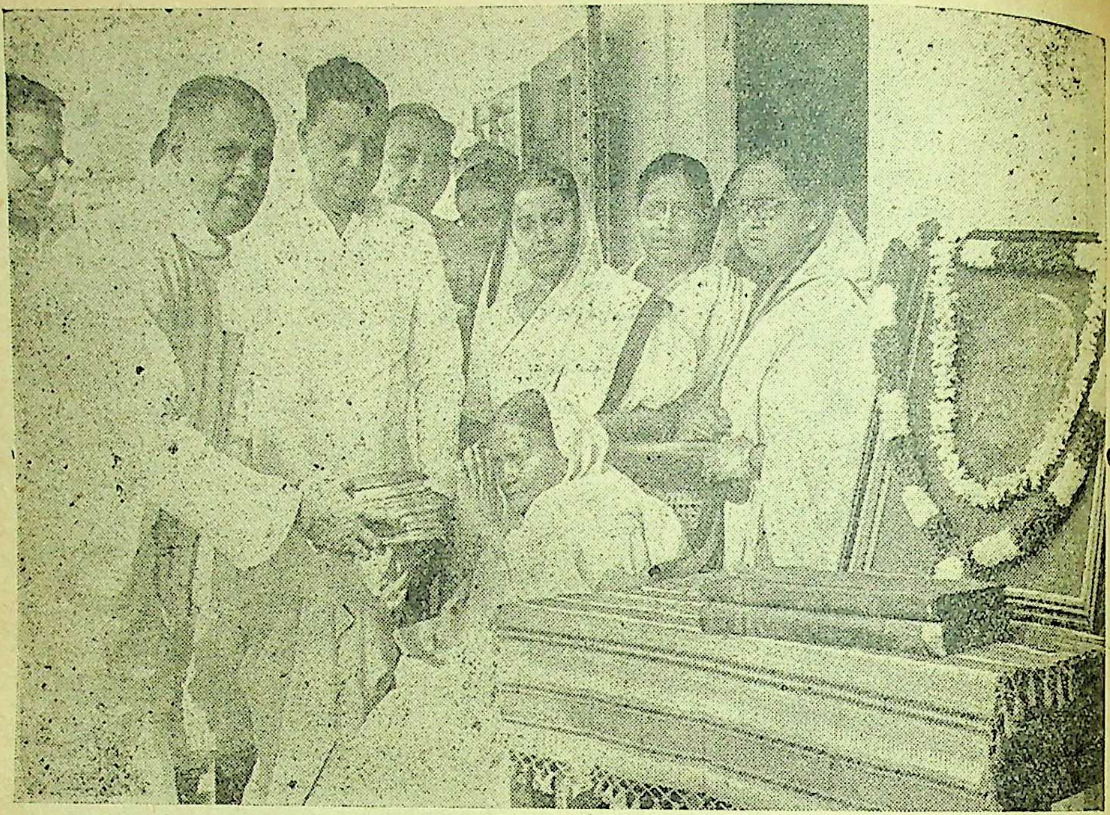
Books on the Mughal and British periods of Indian history form a major part of the collection and reflect Dr. Sarkar's special field of study. His interest in other branches of study is illustrated in the existence of a fine nucleus of books on Napoleon Bonaparte, on Burma (Kingdom of Ava) and on Sanskrit and English literature.

Dr. Sarkar became keenly interested in military strategy in his early youth and he maintained the interest till the end of his life. Some rare publications on the subject offer testimony to this interest.

Almost all the major works on Shivaji and the Marathas, Rajput kingdoms and the Revolt of 1857 are available in the collection. A large number of manuscripts, some copied from rare originals, cover the histories of the Mughals and Marathas. Most of these manuscripts are in Persian and some in Marathi and Hindi.

There are books on Portuguese and French India. The history of Portuguese India is rounded up by almost all of Panduranga Pissurlencar's publications in Portuguese.

The collection includes many typed copies of French works on India and translations of Persian works into English by Dr. Sarkar himself. Some of the translations are from originals



Shri B. S. Kesavan, the librarian, accepting the gift, two volumes of manuscripts of the late Shri Jadunath Sarkar, from Shrimati Kadambini Sarkar seated by the side of her late husband's portrait

preserved in the British Museum and the national libraries of other countries.

There are also a number of books in Bengali and Marathi. The Marathi books are indispensable for the study of Maratha history. The Bengali publications include biographies of some 19th century Bengali leaders and regional histories of Bengal.

The maps in the collection are extremely rare and are of great importance for a proper appreciation of the geographical basis of the late Mughal and early British period of Indian history.

This is what Dr. Sarkar himself wrote of his collection in January 1958, a few months before his death: "Today my collection of Persian manuscripts and Marathi printed sources is indispensable to the students of our mediaeval history as it has brought together in one place the necessary works which are scattered in many towns of India and the famous public libraries of Europe."

As soon as it is processed, the collection will be open for use by scholars. The listing of Persian manuscripts has already been takeen up.—*PIB.*

* * *

THE ART OF ADVERTISEMENT—ITS HISTORY

By ASHIM BHADRA, M.A., D.J.

Display of oneself is an instinct of animality. What, however, distinguishes a man from other animals in this respect is that he has developed it into an art to palm off his wares as well. In other words, from the urge of enhancing his own value, he sets to evaluate his goods for a commercial purpose. This profit motive has evolved into a pattern called advertisement. Advertisement, generally speaking, has come to mean attracting public notice for an enterprise. It is a form of human intercourse whereby the advertiser communicates with the people at large.

In ancient days, when barter was the rule of exchange, the mode of advertisement was rather crude. It was more or less confined to the disposal of surplus commodities.

Signs and Street Criers

The earlist—possibly the earliest—media of publicity are signs and street criers. Before the people were acquainted with newspapers, magazines or any other media, they constituted the only modes of advertisements.

"Signs over shops and stalls seem naturally to have been the first efforts in the direction of advertisement and they go back to the remotest portions of World's History."—(History of Advertising—Henry Sampson).

These early signs were mainly made of either stone or terra-cotta and they were symbolic in character. As the people could hardly read, the message, the signs carried, had to be expressed in pictures instead of letters. The main function of these signs was to identify a merchant's place of business. Some thinkers are of opinion that the sign was "in a sense the visual expression of the name and likewise served to identify a seller of goods and services." To them it was the second step in the evolution of advertising media. They opine that "the earliest function of advertising was to identify"—and that was done by erasing the surname and putting there instead the professional designations such as "John—the blacksmith." It was, no doubt, a very good identity and served also the purpose of publicity. But with the availability of several specialists of the same kind, the name was not adequate enough to serve the purpose of identification and hence the signs.

The Street criers supplemented the signs as the first means of advertising media. In ancient Greece and Rome they used to announce the affairs of the State and news of Commercial interest such as the news of outgoing and incoming ships, commodities for sale and the names of the merchants, who owned them or carried their trade in them.

In later period, announcement through Street criers was more popular in France than in any other country. "The criers had charters from the government and were often organised in a kind of union. Their numbers were usually restricted. In the province of Berry, France, in the year 1141 twelve criers organised a company and obtained a charter from Louis VII giving them the exclusive privilege of town crying in the province."—(The History and Development of Advertising—Frank Presbrey).

The ruler of land helped these criers enforcing the shopkeepers to employ those criers. But with the growth of printing advertisements the system was totally abolished.

Display

The later development that we find in the realm of advertisement was the display of goods. In by-gone days the cities were walled up and merchants assembled at the gate-ways, which were, by and large, the most conspicuous places with a view to display their commodities. This system of exhibition has not been totally abolished even today, rather we find now-a-days a more refined and artistic window-display. Sometimes, instead of showing actual things for sale display of some symbol was used to catch consumers' attention easily.

Written Advertisement

The first written advertisement can be dated to 1000 B.C.—preserved in the British Museum. It was written on a papyrus containing an announcement of an Egyptian Slave-owner for the come-back of a runaway slave.

Written advertisement was not popular before the middle of the 15th Century, naturally, as the people could not read and write. The invention of printing type paved the way for newspaper advertisement, leaflets, bulletins. These advertisements were mainly devoted to the sale of books. But advertisements for other commodities were not altogether unknown. It is interesting to note that, John Milton's essays were those of the first books, advertised in London Papers.

The following is the first printed English advertisement written by William Caxton in the year 1477 in a form of a Poster announcement.

"If anyone, cleric or layman, wants to buy some copies of two or three service books arranged according to the usage of Salisbury Cathedral, and printed in the same desirable type in which this ad: is set, let him come to the place in the precincts of Westminister Abbey, where alms are distributed, which can be recognised by a shield with a red central strip (from top to bottom) and he shall have those books cheap. Please don't tear down this notice." (Translated into modern English by Dr. Edward Pousland of Worchestor Junior College).

Here are some specimens of advertisements that reveal the peculiar characteristics of early-printing period.

"This is to certify, that my child being almost reduced to the very Grave, from the extreme Agony he underwent by violent Breeding of Teeth, was throx' God's Good ness restored to perfect Ease and Safety, upon the use of that truly Noble Medicine, prepared for those cases, by Mr. Perronet Surgeon in Doyt Street, near Blooms Bury, witness my Hand, S. Warburton Raisormaker in Grays-Inn-Passage, by Red Lyon-Square. This medicine is sold at 2s. 7d. the Vial; by the Author aforesaid Mr. Alcraft at the Blew-Coat-Boy Against the Royal Exchange, Cornhill and by Mr. Watkins Tobaconist against the Market, in King-St. Westminister."—(From the **Spectator**, 1711).

"That excellent and by all Physicians approved China Drink, called by the Chineans, Tcha, and by nations, Tay, alias Tee is sold at the Sultaness Head, a Cophee-house in Sweeting Rent by the Royal Exchange, London." This was printed in September 1658 without display type.

By the middle of the 19th Century the art of advertisement made a great progress both in variety and volume. The main development was made in the field of the psychology of advertisement. The mode of presentation and its artistic layouts reacted on the peoples' mind in such a way that they felt for buying the commodities.

The increased power of advertisement gave impetus to the producers to augment their production and competition was obviously the result. Market expanded and the installation of long distance transport-system helped the producers.

It is quite relevant to think that the transport facilities had a tremendous influence on the growth of widely distributed publications and widely circulated newspapers, magazines helped to increase the volume of advertisement.

In modern period, another development was due to the invention of Radio. The advantage of advertising through Radio over other written advertisements is that the listener does not take the trouble to read. So the appeal is direct and almost personal.

It is quite true that the art was taking a complex shape gradually. The advertisements did not end in an announcement only. Its enlarged volume added to other complications and gave birth to some agencies, whose business it was to deal with the ever-growing complexities of advertisement. The first advertising agency was established in England in 1800 A.D. In U.S.A. it was organised by Volney B. Palmer in 1840-41.

With the advent of 20th Century, advertisement has come to be associated with the term science. Advertisement is a part of selling and that to be successful all the factors are to be taken into consideration. Right from 1900 A.D., we find two other terms, viz., market research and consumers' analysis were associated with advertisement. "Not merely is a consideration of the former 'all-important' factors of art, copy, layout and typography, but thought must be given to the product to be advertised, the character of the prospective buyer, their purchasing powers, their place of abode."—(Advertising: Theory and Practice—C. H. Sandage, Ph.D.). These were the criteria of perfect advertisement in the beginning of the modern period.

INDIA'S NEIGHBOUR : BHUTAN

By HEM CHANDRA HALDER

So long the lofty peaks of the Himalayas guarding the northern frontiers of India used to put us in a state of perpetual peace and tranquillity. But the recent Sino-Indian dispute over territories in the heart of Himalayas has given us a jolt and an awareness that we must fix our look a bit more attentively into the happenings of the inner recess of these lofty peaks.

In the cloister of these Himalayan peaks are situated three other smaller States—Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, each having its borders with India and China. So a discussion about one of these States —Bhutan, its past and present, and our relations with that State is likely to be useful.

The Country

The tract of the country to which the name of Bhutan is generally applied, but which in the ancient Hindu writings is called Madra, extends from the southern declivities of the great central ridge of the Himalayan mountains to the foot of the inferior heights constituting the natural boundaries of Bengal and Assam. It is bounded on the North by Tibet, on the West by Sikkim, on the South and East by India.

Bhutan is about 220 miles long and 90 miles broad and presents a succession of the most lofty and rugged mountains on the surface of the globe. Their stupendous size normally precludes the possibility of obtaining a general view of their direction and course. Intercepted between the high peaks are narrow beds of roaring torrents which rush with restless violence. The normal elevation varies from two to seven thousand feet above the level of the sea, while some of the ridges extend from twelve to twenty thousand feet which remain snow-capped during a greater part of the year.

The general character of extreme ruggedness is hardly at all interrupted save by some basins between the retiring flanks of the ranges. Of these, the most remarkable are found in the more central parts of the country. These valleys have been formed by the fluctuating and impetuous course of the rivers which rush through them. The valleys of Boomdungtung, Jugur and Jacessah, Paro and Punakha are amongst the most lofty in the world; and far exceed in elevation to any in other parts of southern Himalayas.

Land and People

The natural beauty, productivity of the soil, the healthy and bracing climate of these hilly regions have been testified to by many who have visited the country since long past. Speaking of Dumsong, Ashley Eden who visited the country in 1864, observed:

"The view from this place was magnificent; the snows of the Choolah, Nitai, and Yaklah Passes were all quite close; on three sides of us were the different snowy ranges of Bootan, Sikkim and Nepal; we could see within a space of sixteen miles the four countries of Thibet, Sikkim, Bootan and British Sikkim. The place would make a magnificent Sanatorium" (para 27).

Dr. Griffith, who accompanied Capt. Pemberton in 1837, described the land as follows :

"In Bootan, the grand forests which have excited the admiration of all travellers in the Himalayas make their appearance. At such, oaks, magnolias, rhododendrons and several species of firs attain to great perfection. On the borders of the woods, patches of swards, adorned in the spring with beautiful herbaceous plants, are frequently met with and form the prettiest objects in the whole scenery of Bootan."

Capt. Pemberton observed as follows:

"There are probably few spots on the globe presenting more favourable conditions to longevity than the lofty mountains and bracing air of Bootan" (para 26).

The early origin of the people in this land of beauty and fascination is still obscure. Apparently the Bhoteahs have not possessed Bhutan for more than a few centuries. There are many versions of which the most dependable is that it formerly belonged to a tribe called by the Bhoteahs Tephoo; they are generally believed to have been people of Cooch Behar. About 300 years ago some Tibetan sepoys were sent from Khampa by the orders of the Lhasa Government to look upon the country, a fight ensued, the Tephoos gave way and went down to the plains with the exception of a few who remained with the Bhoteahs. The Khampa, and later on, the Wang tribes from Tibet took fancy to the country and remained there forming a little community without organisation and government. Gradually the country began to be inhabitated by people from Tibet and Sikkim in the northern region, and from Bengal and Assam in the southern region.

According to present statistics the population is estimated at 7 lakhs with a mixture of 137,700 Nepalese, 9,000 Tibetans and 30,000 Lepchas. The density is 38 per square mile. The language spoken is a dialect of the Tibetan, more or less blended with words and idioms from the surrounding countries. In dress, religious ceremonies and other habits of life the people resemble closely to the Tibetans.

Social, Religious and State structures

The State and religious structures have undergone changes since 1907. Formerly Bhutan was under the dual control of a Dhurma Raja, the religious head and a Deb Raja, the temporal head. It would be interesting to note how in early times these two institutions orginated and developed and influenced the life of the people.

Dhurma Raja

Since the occupation of the country by the Khampa tribes, it is said that they were visited by a travelling Lama from Lhasa named Shepton La-pha. He acquired great influence over the people of the little colony, and they eventually made him their King under the title of Dhurma Raja. He was succeeded by another Lama from Tibet, named Farchoo Doopgein Shepton. He was a very religious man and was much respected by the people. His followers who entered the country along with him were subsequently named as the Wang tribe—and the ruling caste of Bhutan has since been drawn from this tribe. When he died he said that if his body was preserved, he would re-appear again in Bhutan. Three years after his death, his incarnation is said to have re-appeared at Lhasa in the person of a little child, who announced himself as the Dhurma Raja of Bhutan. He was brought to Bhutan, and when the late Raja's cooking utensils and other articles were put before him, he identified them, thus establishing his identity as the promised re-incarnation. Hence originated the system of the Dhurma re-appearing by successive transmigration from one corporeal frame to another. During the interval between the death of a Dhurma Raja and his re-appearance, or until he arrived at the age of maturity after his last birth, the office was held by a spiritual chief named Lama Thepoo.

The Dhurma Raja was regarded as the supreme head of the Monasteries and exercised control over other Lamas scattered all over the country. His administration was carried on with the help of a Council composed of twelve principal Gylongs or priests who habitually lived in the Palace and who controlled the religious pursuits of the people. The Gylongs were numerous. They were regarded as a privileged class. In the Castles of Poonakh and Tassisudon alone their numbers were estimated as several thousands. They formed a considerable proportion of the inhabitants of the country; the most lofty and favoured sites were studded with their monasteries and houses. They used to lead a life of idleness and were fed on the toil of others and general revenues of the State.

Deb Raja

The institution of the Deb Raja developed after the Dhurma Raja. When it was found that administration of religious and temporal powers in one hand was difficult, the Dhurma Raja appointed a Dewan which ultimately led to the system of Deb Raja.

The secular administration of the country was vested in the Deb Raja. He was assisted by a Council, called the Lenchen, composed of the following:

(1) Lam Zimpen (Chief Secy. to Dhurma Raja), (2) Donnai Zimpen (the Dewan), (3) Timpoo Jungpen (Governor of Tassishujung), (4) Poonakh Jungpen (Governor of Poonakh), (5) Angdu Forung Jungpen (Governor of Angdu Forung), (6) Deb Zimpen (Chief Secretary to Deb Raja), (7) Joom Kalling (Chief Judge).

Besides these, the Penlows or Governors of the three Provinces into which Bhutan was divided, viz., the Paro Penlow, the Tongso Penlow and the Daka Penlow, when at headquarters, used to attend the meeting of the Council. These Penlows and their subordinates, the Jungpens, or the district administrators used to exercise supreme powers in their jurisdiction. These Jungpens were appointed by the Penlows. As a natural consequence, every change of Penlow was immediately followed by a change in the person of the Jungpen. But, as everyone of these Jungpens were not prepared so easily to part with power, there was a constant fight for power among these persons. So also among the Penlows for supremacy at the Durbar and the Deb Raja was virtually a puppet in their hands.

Present position

This system of Dhurma and Deb Raja has undergone revision in the present days.

In 1885, the Tongso Penlow, Ugyen Wang-chuk overcame his rivals in a civil war and became predominant. The Dhurma Raja died, and no re-incarnation was found to replace him and the Deb Raja continued to administer the spritual needs also of the people.

In 1907, Ugyen Wang-chuk was elected hereditary Maharaja of Bhutan by the Lamas, Councillors and the people. His grandson is the present Maharaja—Jigme Dorji Wang-chuk. He was installed in October, 1952. He is a young man in early thirties, well-versed in Hindi and English besides Tibetan literature over which he has great mastery.

British Missions and British relations

This brings us to a brief consideration of the long relation which the British, holding sovereign power in India, exercised with the neighbourly State of Bhutan.

As can be anticipated, Imperialism does not rest content with occupying a particular country, however coveted the prize may be. British relation with Bhutan was characterised by the same policy; but what was achieved in India could not, by historical conditions, be achieved in full in the case of Bhutan.

In order to fulfil British designs in relation to Bhutan, several Missions were despatched to that country. Thus Bogle Mission to Tibet (1774) and Capt. Turner's Mission to Tibet (1783) passed through Bhutan. The other Missions, viz., Kishen Kanta Bose's (1815), Capt. Pemberton's (1837) and Ashley Eden's (1864) were despatched with the obvious intention of negotiating some border disputes with Bhutan. But how far these Missions were despatched with such a simple purpose, and having nothing secret behind them, will be revealed from the following.

Most of their reports were secret and confidential, but their real motive could not be left hidden even in the open reports that some of them left. Thus Capt. Pemberton, in the opening paragraph of his report, could not keep secret the imperialist jingoism characteristic of these agents and boasted thus:

"Bhutan was as little known as the more lofty and inaccessible region beyond it, and would probably have continued so had not her rulers, **in ignorance of the real character of those by whom the conquest of Bengal was effected,** been guilty of agressions upon those bordering States."

He could not therefore keep secret that what the British did in relation to Bengal would be repeated in the case of Bhutan also, the border issue remaining.

Ashley Eden was more outspoken. Though he went to negotiate some border dispute, yet what he looked more carefully, and what was behind his mind will be revealed from the following. After his arrival in Darling and seeing the country, he remarks:

"It was impossible to avoid contrasting the present state of this portion of the conntry with what it would be **under our rule"** (para 28).

How the question of 'under our rule' comes, one can easily see for himself. Here the intention has been put in only, but on reaching Paro, one of the important Provincial headquarters, and seeing the Fort there, he could not remain secret. He observes:

"It would be necessary to bear in mind, in the event of our having at any future time to attack the Fort, that shot directed anywhere lower than the verandahs would not find its way into the court, but would go through the store-rooms and be stopped by the rock" (para 33).

After reaching Poonakha, the capital, and noting meticulously the conditions there, and of the Fort, he writes:

"There is a bridge at the Fort, and a force marching on Poonakh should divide here, and marching up either bank of the river, take the Palace at Poonakh in front and rear and cut off all chance of escape." Moreover,

"The Palace of Poonakh is entirely commanded by a height on the West Bank, and it would be difficult to conceive a place so ill adopted for defence. One round of shell would set the whole place in a blaze, and the bridges being held, and a force posted to the North of the Fort, not a man could escape" (para 38).

These remarks are very significant. Perhaps anything more is not needed to reveal the real intentions of those innocent-looking Missions.

The Eden Mission ended in failure. The rulers of Bhutan had full knowledge how such earlier British Missions in the case of India led eventually to her subjugation. Eden was even kept in confinement, and he was able to escape with great difficulty.

Next year, in 1865, what was behind these Missions became manifest. Bhutan was invaded, but the British could not carry out their objective to subjugate the country. The sturdy people with the hills serving as natural fortifications defeated an English garrison with losses of men and guns, and a Treaty was subsequently signed with Bhutan.

This fact alone would not have saved the independence of Bhutan, but developments inside India and the experience of the Great Rebellion of 1857 stayed the hands of the British towards further expansion, and the independence of Bhutan was saved.

The eventual relations of the British with regard to Bhutan was guided by a Treaty signed in 1910 in which the Bhutanese Government agreed to be guided by the advice of the British Government in regard to external affairs, while the subsidy to the Bhutan Government was raised.

Indo-Bhutan relations

After India had attained independence, she became busy in adjusting her relations with neighbouring countries on a new basis. The three Himalayan States including Bhutan have three types of distinct relation with India depending on the degree of internal development in each country. India renewed the old Treaty that existed with Bhutan by a fresh Treaty signed on 8th August, 1949. By this Treaty:

(1) The defence of Bhutan remains India's responsibility and Bhutan agreed to be guided by India in her foreign relations.

(2) Dewangiri which formerly belonged to Bhutan was restored to her.

(3) The subsidy which Bhutan enjoyed from India was increased to Rs. 5 lakhs.

This Treaty worked well so long, and there were friendly ties of Bhutan with India.

But since 1949 a new element has been introduced in the politics of the high hills —the emergence of the People's Republic of China. Tibet has been forced to become a part of this Republic where Chinese rule has been extended.

Bhutan has a long border with China and the people on the northern side belongs to the same ethnic, religious and cultural groups as with Tibetans. The communication and business intercourse of this region are also linked up with Tibet. So long the old **status-quo** in Tibet was maintained, but after the departure of Dalai Lama, China has launched a programme of sweeping reforms in Tibet. Road and Air communications are being opened up on an extensive scale. Far-reaching changes in social structure and religious practices are taking place. The face of Tibet is being rapidly changed.

This is bound to have serious repurcussions in Bhutan. The Ruler cannot remain a silent spectator to this changing scene in the heart of the Himalayas. The position of the State of Bhutan as a buffer between China and India will give the Ruler a sense of a greater bargaining power in relation to India.

This position has already began to manifest itself. So what was Rs. 5 lakhs as India's subsidy to Bhutan has suddenly jumped up during last month (after the Sino-India border dispute) to a sum of Rs. 12 lakhs. This subsidy had in the past also worked as a weak link in the chain of India's relation with Bhutan, and it has always tended to increase in Bhutan's favour as will be seen from the following table :

Year	Subsidy increased to
1841	Rs. 1000/-
1865	Rs. 50,000/-
1910	Rs. 1,00,000/-
1942	Rs. 1,00,000/-
1949	Rs. 5,00,000/-
1959	Rs. 12,00,000/-

The increase from 5 lakhs in 1949 to 12 lakhs in 1959, a big increase, is very significant.

Not only the subsidy has thus increased, India, in order to fulfil her responsibility of the defence of Bhutan, has agreed to grant a credit of Rs. 15 crores to Bhutan for building of roads.

Roads and communications when opened up, will cut through the isolation of the Country, internally and externally with India. Development of communication will give rise to a development of consciousness of the people, and popular demands including a form of representative government will increase. So out of the dark, misty, snow-capped feudal Bhutan, a new country will emerge demanding greater attention from India for maintenance of friendly relation.

INDIAN PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS

Cuttack Session

BY DR. SUDHIR NANDI

It was a chilly winter night. We reached Cuttack while it was still dark and dazed. There were volunteers to receive us at the station. My old friend Prof. Roy was there to greet us from amongst a host of unknown faces. They were all kind and hospitable. We drove to the famed parties of the Ravenshaw College in a luxury car and we were taken immediately upstairs to our allotted room. The delegates' camp was housed in the college hostel. The hostel and the college in all its departments were housed in a very large red-brick building ramifying over a large area. We were all struck by the extension of this majestic building. Of course, Sri Mihir Sen, the channel swimer, when he came to Krishnanagar a few months back gave me an idea of the bigness of the Ravenshaw College building and claimed that his Alma Mater was unique in this regard. On visiting 'Yarrow' I had no occasion to ask 'Is this Yarrow?' I was happy to find that Sri Sen was cent per cent correct in his estimate. Our room was situated on the eastern flank of this massive building. Myself, my wife and Dhriti, my tiny daughter, all agreed that the room was awfully nice. My wife started on her domestic business as soon as we were left alone and soon I found myself completely in an atmosphere of ease and comfort. The deputy superintendent of the Hostel, Mr. Patnaik repeatedly called on us to know whether he could be of any service to us. We received with thanks all the service that he and his staff offered us.

Life for us started there on the morning of 26th December, 1959. We were a bit early for the philosophical congress as we were scheduled to attend a conference on parapsychology and religion, organised by Seth Sohan Lal Memorial Institute of Parapsychology of Rajasthan. Dr. A. C. Das, president-elect of this conference on parapsychology and religion was already there and the conference opened with a welcome address from Dr. P. Parija, Vice-Chancellor, Utkal University. Dr. A. C. Das read out his learned address and it was appreciated by all present. Dr. Das is too well-known to need any introduction. His recent publication **A Modern Incarnation of God** has been well received here and abroad. The morning session broke up with a vote of thanks. The afternoon session was devoted to symposium papers and discussion. The evening session saw the summing up of the day's proceedings and the future programme was discussed at length. The energetic Secretary of the Sohan Lal Institute, Mr. H. N. Banerjee, was all attention to every one of us and we liked his dynamic personality very much. Parapsychology in India is in very deft hands and we could well see its big future.

Twenty-seventh of December was a sabbath day for us. With a hectic day of meetings and tiresome discussions at the rear and with four days pregnant with the germs of discussions, meetings and exchange of ideas ahead of us, we liked this day of rest. We had outings and enjoyed the time mostly in sight-seeing and doing a little shopping here and there. Orissa is famous for her art and craft. She had a hoary past in art and architecture and her present does resemble her past in matters of excellent executions on cotton, silver and leather. The centres of filigree work took away much of our time. It was a pleasure to witness the traditional skill at work. We must say in all fairness that a more active publicity machinery would have secured a wider market for these delicate wares of which Orissa has been justly proud for centuries. From the market place we moved to Barabati Stadium. It was a mammoth structure symbolising the zeal and energy of young Orissa. Within a stone's throw from the Stadium you have the ancient ruins of Barabati Fort and the Palace. The hoary past and the resurgent present embrace each other on the horse's saddle back span of space. The Mahanadi offered us splendid sights. On the shadowy river-banks the sun kissed the earth a parting kiss and the coy maiden, as the earth is, had a blush which spread over the entire sky and permeated the whole atmosphere. As we stood on the brittle banks of the mighty river we were all red. The last rays, a deep crimson in a blazing trail, said us "good-bye." My wife chanted a few lines from Tagore:

"O thou unnamed,
Please tell us
Where is thy abode?
Is it where
The pyre of the day is lit
On the shores of restful night?"*

Next day was the 28th December. After breakfast we moved up to the pandal where the Vice-Chancellor Dr. Parija welcomed us to the thirty-fourth session of the Indian Philosophical Congress. Sri Y. N. Sukhtankar, Governor of Orissa, read out his inaugural address. The Governor bore a dignity equal to the high office he holds. He was a charming personality and we had a taste of his simple manners on two subsequent occasions. The At Home at Raj Bhavan and the Vice-Chancellor's tea party in the college botanical gardens gave us good opportunities to see a lot of this gentleman who has been enthroned in the gubernatorial office of Orissa. 'This erudite Sanskrit scholar,' as Dr. Parija described him, left an indelible impression on everybody present. We thoroughly liked this august personage. The opening session was marked by the learned presidential address from a distinguished philosopher of to-day. He is Dr. N. V. Banerjee of the Delhi University. 'The Fragments of Philosophical Investigation,' his presidential address, made a tremendous impact on the delegates both Indian and foreign. Prof. N. A. Nikam, the General Secretary of the Congress, in one of his addresses rightly characterised Prof. Banerjee's address as a 'monument of scholarship and philosophical analysis.' That is also the impression we carried home and that is something abiding.

The sectional meetings and symposia spread over all the four days. Forty papers on different aspects of Indian and Western philosophy were selected for being read at the sectional meetings. Eleven of these selected papers were from Bengal. The rest came from the rest of India. Of all the symposia held the one on G. E. Moore proved to be the most interesting. The veteran Prof. G. C. Chatterjee, lately Vice-Chancellor, Rajasthan University, read out a paper of abiding interest. It bore colourful touches of a personal nature. His paper 'G. E. Moore as I knew him' certainly was a departure from the drab monotony of abstract philosophical discussion. Prof. Nikam's address on Moore, because of its personal flavour was also very interesting. Prof. K. K. Banerjee's paper was appreciated for his academic sincerity. Two public lectures were organised—one by Prof. Clarence Shuta and the other by Prof. Humayun Kabir. Prof. Shuta is not much known to the public of our country though the academic circle knew him quite well. What I could gather was that his absolutely foreign accent did not help a wider appreciation of his thought-provoking address. However the delegates liked this lanky venerable professor with a wide cultural background. Prof. Kabir was absolutely at ease and he drew repeated applause from the vast audience. He dwelt at length on the problems of education and unemployment and educated unemployment. Examples from the history of education of Russia and America were copiously cited to show the soundness of our present education policy. It was a neat speech with sparks and flares here and there. He was greatly appreciated on all hands. The interesting 'Round Table' on traditional values in Indian and American life gave rise to a lively discussion. We took it easy and the discussion rose to a pitch not quite agreeable to the conventional standards of philosophical discussion. Here again Prof. Kabir intervened to wind up the debate and discussion and he did it squarely. The assembly dispersed at the prospect of a sumptuous dinner.

This year, the sectional presidents were Prof. V. V. Akolkar for the Psychology section, Dr. A. G. Javadekar for the Logic and Metaphysics section, Prof. G. Misra for the History of Philosophy section and Mr. A. S. Ayyub for the Ethics and Social Philosophy section. All these sectional presidents are noted scholars in their fields of study. They discussed the different problems of value and existence, both individual and social in their addresses. The huge mass of delegates who came from all over India and even from beyond the seas listened to these addresses with unfailing attention and interest. Mr. Ayub was in failing health. At times he had to call for assistance while reading out his address. Occasionally Prof. Swamidasan came to his help. Prof. Akolkar's paper on Psychology upheld the reputation he enjoys in the academic circle. His printed address was so much in demand that we could not secure a copy as we were a bit late in coming in. Prof. Misra is a stout scholar who has given rise to much of expectation in the knowledgable circles. The world of philosophy has pinned much faith in him and we are sure, in course of time, he would live up to the expectation of all concerned. My paper was placed in Prof. Misra's section. He did his job quite satisfactorily. We must remember that the task of a sectional president was really tough as he had to manage the reading of and discussion on quite a number of papers within a time limit of, say, five hours altogether. So many people were eager to discuss the issues involved and the president had to gently quell their zeal for participation in the deliberations. It was not an easy task to perform. The sectional presidents did their job splendidly well. The sectional meetings ran smoothly. Apart from these usual sectional meetings, a special meeting was organised to discuss 'Philosophical Developments in Orissa.' This session was inaugurated by the Chief Minister of the State, Dr. Harekrushna Mahatab and presided over by the noted Oriya scholar Pandit Nilakantha Das. The president dwelt at length on the development of religious and philosophical thoughts in Orissa. In a fifteen-page address he not only traced the growth and development of philosophical and religious thought in Orissa but also offered a well-documented comparative study. This year Prof. T. M. P. Mahadevan delivered the Pratap Seth Annual Lecture while Prof. T. R. V. Murti delivered the Buddha Jayanti Lecture. These lectures are usual features of the Congress. Two endowments make provision for these two lectureships. We were happy to know that Professor Kalidas Bhattacharya of the Visva-Bharati University has been elected to a lectureship and he is expected to deliver his lectures at the next session at Waltair.

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* Translation by Sm. Leena Nandi.

Thanks to the local Secretaries. Man does not live by mere abstract discussions and deliberations. The local Secretaries knew this to be an axiom. That is why they arranged for the programmes of dance and music. Folk songs and folk dances displayed a very high standard. At places influence of classical music and dance was discernible. Of course, it is only natural that folk songs and folk dances will be inspired and sustained by the classical. We thoroughly enjoyed them. The organisers, wise as they were, made lavish arrangements not only for the head and the heart but also for the stomach. Right royal menu overwhelmed and in many cases upset the stomachs, accustomed to middle-class food. The Chief Minister Dr. Mahtab's dinner would long linger in our memory not so much for the richness of the food served (as we got accustomed to rich food in the mean time) as for the awful simplicity of our distinguished host. He spent hours together with a host of poor philosophers who had nothing to offer to this illustrious leader but a mouthful of dry dissertation concerning the various problems of life and existence. He moved freely amongst his guests and made them feel that he was really interested in them. His warmheartedness drew many eminent scholars round this astute politician who held gubernatorial office and the office of a Central Cabinet Minister not long ago. He won us all by his unassuming manners and unostentations behaviour. Modesty was writ large on his whole bearing. We felt that this modest servant of the people was destined to make history.

We saw the last sunset of the year 1959. The red ball took a dip in the sanctum of the Mahanadi. The old year rolled out. Next morning it was the new year. The old was rung out and the new was rung in. There was breackfast served, a good breakfast to start with a full new year lying bright before us. We packed up and got ready for the trip to Konarak. The luxury buses were ready. We boarded them and they steamed off. The dark pitch coat of the streets looked bright with the morning glow. The new year sun kissed the fringe of the coat and the dusty frills quivered at the morning breeze. We moved up. Our destination was Konarak, the Sun Temple.

THE PROBLEM OF DISARMAMENT

By Dr. VIJAY SEN, M.A., Ph.D (U.S.A.)

In fourteen years of negotiations both in and outside the United Nations on the subject of disarmament, the United States and the USSR have just agreed that ban on nuclear testing and reduction of armaments are necessary and "highly desirable." In spite of world-wide pressure against the introduction of further radioactivity into the atmosphere, the three nuclear powers —Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union—have fallen short of full agreement on the suspension of nuclear testing, though the three-power conference on this subject is in continuous session in Geneva since October 31, 1958. Thus discouraged and facing deadlock after deadlock at disarmament conferences, the world wonders whether anything effective can still be done to escape the vicious circle of the arms race.

As a matter of fact the problem of disarmament has a long history. The Treaty of Versailles stipulated a "general limitation of the armaments of all nations."[1] To translate this part of the Treaty into action, several attempts were made at various levels during the inter-war period in and outside the League of Nations, but the powers concerned failed to end the race for armaments. As far as these efforts towards disarmament are concerned, Salvador de Madariaga dramatically summed up the proceedings of various disarmament conferences in this way:

> "The animals had met to disarm. The lion looking sidewise at the bull declared: 'Horns must be abolished.' The eagle, looking at the tiger, said: 'Paws and especially claws must be abolished'. The bear, in his turn, said: 'All arms must be abolished; all that is necessary is a universal embrace'."

We had the same situation after the Second World War. As the War ended the United States and Soviet Russia became rivals instead of partners in the successful working of the U.N. system. Their continued suspicion of one another has resulted in their efforts to put each other at a disadvantage in the race for armaments as was the case with the powers during the inter-war period; for the disarmament talks conducted under the auspices of the United Nations do not differ in the least from previous efforts in this respect. To illustrate this point, let us study here the efforts made towards banning the use of atomic weapons and their testing since the end of World War II.

Early in 1946 the United Nations Assembly resolved to establish a U.N. Commission on Atomic Energy. The United States government, the only power in possession of atomic weapons at that time, in its report on the international control of atomic energy proposed the establishment of a U.N. Atomic Development Authority under the direction of the Security Council. All major states were to be members of this Authority which was to take decisions by a majority vote. The Authority was to (1) own and operate all uranium and thorium mines, (2) conduct atomic research and (3) control inspection, licensing and leasing of atomic plants throughout the world. In short, the main task of the Authority was to make impossible the production of atomic bombs and to make available atomic power and its by-products for peaceful uses.

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[1] Part V of the Treaty of Versailles and Article VIII of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Though the United States government came forward with this plan to internationalize the production facilities and mineral deposits of atomic energy (both of its allies and potential enemies), it was not prepared to give an assurance that it would stop manufacturing atomic bombs or destroy its stockpile of atomic weapons. The United States announced that it would agree to placing itself under the U.N. Atomic Development Authority not until the mechanism of the proposed plan had been exposed to view in all its aspects for a period of time and found perfect.

The Soviet Union rejected the American plan to control atomic power in the world minus the United States. In its counter-proposal, the Soviet government proposed that all states should renounce the use of atomic weapons and should destroy all stockpiles within three months. At the same time the Soviet government vehemently opposed the internationalization of production facilities and mineral deposits of atomic energy or the inspection of mining deposits by an international body.

This stalemate, recorded in June 1946 in the first session of the Atomic Energy Commission, still continues, though the Commission and its sub-committee have met several times since then and though negotiations on the suspension of nuclear-bomb tests have taken place many times at various levels.

To further illustrate the earlier statement, let us consider the reaction of the United States statesmen when it became clear that the Soviet Union had stolen a march over the United States in the production of destructive weapons. In 1957 the USSR announced the perfection of the inter-continental ballistic missile. This meant that Soviet Russia could deliver attomic warheads anywhere in the world from the Soviet land by using outer space. At that time the West was sceptical of Russian claim. When a few weeks later, on October 4, 1957, the Soviet scientists successfully launched the first earth satellite, it became obvious that the USSR was in possession of inter-continental ballistic missiles and that the United States was much behind the Soviet Union in the race for the exploration and conquest of outer space. While congratulating the Soviet scientists on their achievements in nuclear physics, President Eisenhower proposed that all powers should agree to use outer space for peaceful purposes only. It is obvious that this proposal of the President was in no way different from the Soviet proposal in 1946, when the United States had the sole monopoly of atomic weapons, calling for renunciation of the use and destruction of atomic weapons.

Some observers point out that the very fact that the powers in possession of nuclear weapons know that nuclear war means mutual destruction provides a framework of insurance for peace in the world, or because of this nuclear weapons will not be used in any future war. In other words, to use Churchill's expression, the balance of terror is as much instrumental in maintaining peace as the balance of power was in the nineteenth century. Even so, considering the deadly weapons in possession of nuclear powers, the speed with which they are being improved and manufactured, and the strained relations of the United States and the USSR, it is essential that this stalemate should be resolved immediately. The problem is not only that of an agreement between the nuclear powers on the banning of nuclear weapons and their further testing, but that of mutual understanding and resolving the present tension that exists between the two blocs. For, as has been pointed out by Bertrand Russell,[2] even if the powers agree to renounce nuclear weapons, they, in the event of a serious war, would not consider themselves bound by former agreements. Thus there is no safety to be found even in banning nuclear weapons; we cannot unlearn our techniques, and a bomb once invented can be manufactured again as soon as a war breaks out. After all man has been progressing in the production of more and more destructive weapons in war as well as in peace. It may be recalled that the first atomic bomb was manufactured in the course of the last World War. Thus until the relations between East and West become less strained than they are at present, the problem of saving mankind from nuclear extinction will remain.

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[2] In his recent book: "Common Sense and Nuclear Warfare;" London, George Allen and Unwin, 1959.

While present policies continue, there will not only be a constant increase in propaganda of hate and terror among the big powers against one another but with every year that passes, technical advances will make war, when it breaks out, more and more disastrous. Moreover, present preparedness makes it possible for some wholly accidental misfortune. A meteor exploding a hydrogen bomb can be mistaken for enemy action. A mechanical defect in radar or a sudden nervous breakdown of some important officer entrusted with the control of nuclear weapons can be other possibilities of an accidental action. Or order from higher authorities can be misunderstood. There have been such examples in recent history. For instance, several thousand Polish army officials are said to have been shot dead during the Second World War due to the misunderstanding of a telephoned order from the Kremlin to a Soviet army official to "liquidate" the camp of Plolish war prisoners at Katyn, Poland. Instead of liquidating, that is, dissolving the camp, the officer who received the order "liquidated" its inmates.[3] Finally, when more countries have nuclear weapons, a country with an irresponsible, chauvinistic government can launch a nuclear attack which may lead to World War before it is discovered that none of the major powers was responsible for the action.

Under these circumstances one might say that the states should renounce war as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another. But is it possible to practise non-violence in world politics? Mahatma Gandhi, while suggesting this method, once remarked: "If one takes care of the means, the end will take care of itself . . . . In a society based on non-violence the smallest nation will feel as tall as the tallest. The idea of superiority and inferiority will be wholly obliterated." However, the Mahatma himself thought that it would be a miracle if the great powers accepted his ideas. Though he added that the miracles had happened before and might occur again, with due deference to the Mahatma, a student of international relations cannot look for miracles to take place while the powers are engaged to destroy one another. He has to see whether any plan meets the empirical test which has to be applied: Will the nation states agree to such a proposal?

The question arises: Why do they not agree to disarm themselves? It may be helpful here to study briefly some of the important issues that have come up before disarmament conferences in the past. During the inter-war period and also ever since the end of the Second World War the subject of disarmament has been closely linked with security. The states spend huge amounts on armaments in the interest of their security and defence. Whenever the question of disarmament came up before the League of Nations, some of the powers—specially, France and Poland—declared that adequate arrangements for the security of the members should be made first. The question of security is equally important today.

The second problem before the League of Nations in respect of disarmament was that of international supervision. The French delegates viewed with distrust any proposal for disarmament without any provision for effective international supervision. Britain held that the community of nations could rely on the good faith of its members; Italy and the United States refused to accept any kind of international supervision. We have the same problem today. At the last summit conference held in 1955, President Eisenhower proposed that the powers should agree to international aerial supervision; the Soviet government has resisted all attempts to establish an effective, foolproof and "free" system of inspection the West considers essential to assure adherence to disarmament agreements until now.

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[3] Samuel L. Sharp: "Poland—White Eagle on a Red Field," Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1953, p. 293.

The bogey of national interests has also been raised quite often. The major signatories to the Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928), while renouncing war, declared that it (the Pact) did not rule out war in self-defence or any war to safeguard their "special and vital interests." Even today nations advocate the use of force to defend their vital interests. What are these rights and interests? They still remain ill-defined. They range from the defence of national territory to the satisfaction of chauvinistic claims for territorial adjustments at the cost of other sovereign states or the protection of life lines of big empires.

It follows from this that if the states are to disarm themselves, the problem of security should be solved, a machinery for international supervision of armies and weapons should be set up and there should be a system for securing definition, adjustment and protection of national rights and interests without resort to force. Differences do arise among nations as they arise among human beings. There should be a machinery to solve these differences peacefully.

This suggests that the deficiencies of international government are the chief cause of huge armaments. Various international organizations have made several inroads on the sovereignty of states. Every attempt should be made to accelerate this process of erosion of the current concept of sovereignty in order to strengthen the world organization which may define and protect national rights and interests, and also solve the problem of security and international supervision. This will also help in easing the tension that exists between the two blocs. Only then we can have a state of mind in the nations conducive to disarmament.

In any approach towards the strengthening of the world organization the opposition between Communism and Capitalism appear to be the most evident obstacle at the present time. However, the two sides seem to have realized the danger of "nuclear brinkmanship" and its economic, political and military consequences. Commenting on Chairman Khrushchev's visit to the United States, the "New York Times" (Weekly Review) stated:

> Both sides feel the economic weight of the arms race and would like to devote to more constructive ends the resources now going into armaments.[4]

Secondly, both capitalism and communism have been undergoing changes ever since they began to be seriously advocated. They have been interpreted and re-interpreted to meet the changing needs and situations. In this process they have taken certain ideas from one another. These two systems have existed side by side for quite some time and can continue to co-exist in the future as well. Man is not only capable of fear, hate and terror, but also of hope and benevolence. In this spirit we should do our utmost to strengthen the world organization.

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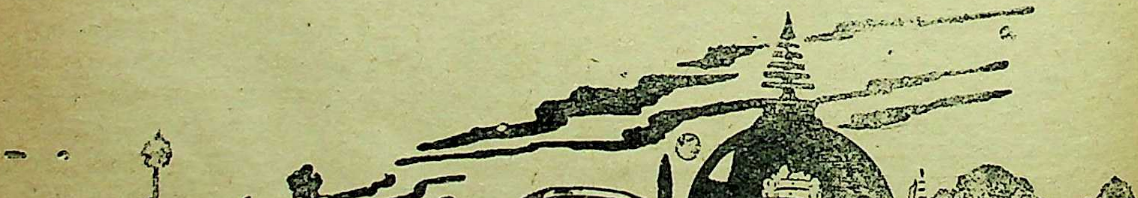
[4] September 27, 1959.



LENIN IN LITERATURE

By SERGEI ASENIN

The books, folk legends and songs inspired by V. I. Lenin, great revolutionary genius and thinker, the founder of the world's first socialist state, run into many volumes. Years in no way diminish the greatness of this modest and wise man, and time is powerless to divert the thoughts and feelings of peoples from him. Quite the contrary, with the years, and in historical perspective, his image, near and dear to the heart of the ordinary man, grows in its significance and beauty, the titanic feat of his life, completely dedicated to the freedom, happiness and bright future of humanity, looms greater than ever before in the eyes of the whole world.

Lenin's work, his far-seeing, ever active mind, the amazing personality of this greatest political leader and kind man of warm heart and unusual charm, naturally were and still are a source of inspiration to writers of various lands and peoples. To create an artistic portrait of Lenin, the leader and the man, to show his versatile and rich personality, is a tremendous and noble task confronting, in all its magnitude, the writers of our time. All the more valuable and precious are the inspired pages devoted to Lenin by many talented prose writers and poets. The first to be mentioned among them is Maxim Gorky, stormy petrel of the revolution, ardent singer of the working class, who in his reminiscences depicted the living features of Lenin's genius, and in graphic and forceful descriptions succeeded in conveying Lenin's inimitable language, manner of speaking, facial expression and gestures.

As is known, the writer was a close friend of Lenin and often had long conversations with him. Their copious correspondence, a new edition of which has recently come out in a separate volume, speaks of their deep spiritual affinity, of the great philosophical and purely human influence which Lenin exercised on Gorky.

In his article, to which the writer devoted much of his time and which has become a remarkable literary document of the epoch, Gorky, with great artistic mastery, tells of his many encounters with Lenin, and of the exceptionally strong impression Lenin produced on him in 1907 at the Party Congress in London. Unlike other political leaders, Gorky tells us, Lenin "did not try to invent beautiful phrases, but made every word stand out as clearly as can be, bringing home its precise meaning with amazing facility."

"It was the first time," says the writer, "that I heard one speak so simply of the most complicated political questions." Simplicity, modesty, naturalness, integrity and at the same time the amazing completeness, force and conviction of thought, were first and foremost noted by Gorky as the salient characteristics of Lenin.

In Gorky's reminiscences Lenin is not only a far-seeing leader and politician, and an orator captivating human minds. He is a man with a big and pure heart, extremely sociable and witty. A highly-infectious gaiety and a lively, untiring interest in all that surrounds him, particularly people, are typical of him. Amazing versatility and great humaneness make up the charming and forceful image of Vladimir Lenin as depicted by Gorky.

In his article written with great ardour, the writer describes with particular affection the episodes testifying to Lenin's broad literary knowledge and interests, the poignancy and aptness of his appraisals, Lenin's ability deeply to analyse art and his subtle feeling for music.

Gorky also speaks with admiration of such a characteristic trait of Lenin, as pride in his people, its creative talent, and the great spiritual values it has contributed to the treasure-store of humanity.

The force and impact of Gorky's portrayal is in the writer's being able to show how Lenin's tireless and purposeful thought, taking impetus from what seem to be insignificant trifles of every-day life, arrives at great generalizations, reveals life's phenomena in all the complexity of their contradictions, in development and perspective.

"Lenin is more of a man than any of my contemporaries," said Gorky in 1920. "...... I am certain," he continued, "that in rare moments of rest his militant thought carries him away to the beautiful future much farther and sees more than I can imagine. The principal aim of all of

Lenin's life is the common good of all humanity. . . . . ."

Soviet literature emerged and took shape as an art asserting the principles of the new world, and the new social relations; it set before the world the ideal of the citizen fighter, the builder of communism, a person of great convictions and crystal-pure heart. It was natural that the initiators of the literature of socialist realism —Maxim Gorky and Vladimir Mayakovsky —should see in Lenin the most harmonious and striking expression of the ideal man whom they so craved to embody in literature.

Many poems written by Mayakovsky in the early years of the revolution were what might be termed the "approaches" to the Lenin theme, a source of constant inspiration to the poet, revealed with such force and mastery in his most signiifcant work—the poem "Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.."

The poet has created a deeply emotional and elating work, in which epic grandeur is combined with lyrical fervour, and we see Lenin's image as inseparably associated with the history of mankind, in deep affinity with the destinies of the people and its future. In this titanic image the features of Lenin the leader and Lenin the man are indivisibly blended. And although Mayakovsky wrote this poem soon after Lenin's death, at a time when the entire nation was stricken by grief, it is pervaded with a bright feeling of optimism and faith in the triumph of Lenin's cause and the immortality of Lenin's ideas!

Among the most interesting and significant works of Soviet literature, in which Lenin's personality is embodied, it is impossible not to mention Nikolai Pogodin's dramatic trilogy. The dramatist had worked on it for more than twenty years, making a thorough study of Lenin's life and works, of the numerous reminiscences of his contemporaries, of Lenin's characteristic traits as a polemicist and public speaker.

The first play of this trilogy "The Man with the Gun" was completed in 1937. During the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the October Revolution the first performance of the role of Lenin was given on the stage of the Vakhtangov Theatre in Moscow by the outstanding Soviet actor Boris Shchukin.

The scene of Lenin's meeting in the corridor in Smolny with the soldier Ivan Shadrin, "the man with the gun," who had come to the revolution right from the trenches of World War I, has become one of the most vivid episodes in the history of Soviet drama. The key scene and the tensest moment of the play, it is invested with great content. In a casual conversation that is struck up in this scene, such issues of vital interest to the broad masses as peace and land are discussed. Shadrin does not at all suspect that the friendly man he speaks to and who knows so well the life of the ordinary people is Lenin. He finds this out later, but the heart-to-heart talk he has with Lenin reveals to him the true significance of the revolution, and the wisdom of the leader steering the course of events.

"The Kremlin Chimes," the second play of the trilogy, was completed by Pogodin in 1941. In a series of striking, historically true episodes the dramatist tells the story of how Lenin's plan for the electrification of Russia came into being, how under the influence of Lenin and thanks to the tremendous constructive effort of the Communist Party he headed, the best representatives of the old Russian intelligentsia began to serve the people, giving all of their brain power to the people, and themselves deriving meaning and an aim in life.

Lenin's idea that it is necessary to dream, to live and work for the sake of the happy future of the people, and by one's efforts to bring closer that future, is the keynote of the play. Its finale is symbolic: the Kremlin chimes, which on Lenin's instructions had been repaired by an old watchmaker, resonantly and confidently strike the hour, telling us, as it were, that the time is drawing nearer when Lenin's bold dreams will be a reality.

"The Kremlin Chimes" has now been showing for many years in the Moscow Art Theatre. And the same theatre has staged the last play of the trilogy, "The Third Pathetique." In it Lenin is portrayed at the close of his life. Pogodin calls his play "a tragic presentation," and it has much that calls to mind Mayakovsky's poem about Lenin. In it the optimistic, life-affirming theme of the immortality of Lenin's truth, Lenin's faith in the creative genius of the people, in the Communist future to which Lenin had dedicated his life is reverberated with great force.

Lenin's personality, and his work of the great strategist of the revolution, politician and philosopher, and the true leader of the people, have also captivated the imagination of many talented writers of other lands.

Particularly worthy of mention among these is the American writer John Reed and his wonderful book about the Great October Revolution—"*Ten Days That Shook the World.*" This is the only work of fiction to which Lenin himself wrote a preface. Appraising John Reed's book very highly, Lenin underlined that "it gives a truthful and an unusually lively written account of events, so important for the understanding of what is a proletarian revolution, what is the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The revolutionary people are the principal hero of this work in which documentary, publicist and fiction writing are closely interwoven. John Reed's fiery pen recreated the greatest historic events and has shown Lenin in the centre of them. In 1919-1920 John Reed met Lenin, and had long talks with him which gave him greater and deeper insight into Lenin's wisdom, far-sightedness and humanism.

In his book John Reed showed Lenin's unity and deep spiritual affinity with the people, told of the inflexible will of the leader of revotionary struggle, who in the most trying times "stood indomitable as a rock." John Reed in describing Lenin as a public speaker had faithfully shown that he could speak simply and graphically to the people about the biggest and most important things. For example in his description of Lenin's address to the Second Congress of Soviets, he wrote: "Dressed in shabby clothes, with trousers much too long for him. Unimpressive to be the idol of the mob, loved and revered as perhaps few leaders in history have been. A strange popular leader—a leader purely by virtue of intellect; colourless, humourless, uncompromising and detached, without picturesque idiosyncrasies but with the power of explaining profound ideas in simple terms, of analysing a concrete situation. And combined with shrewdness the greatest intellectual audacity." John Reed tells us that thousands of ordinary people gazed intently at him, filled with admiration; his words breathed serenity and force deeply penetrating into human hearts, and it was perfectly clear why the people always believed what Lenin said.

Lenin's image, vivid and expressive, rises from the pages of John Reed's stirring book, illumined by the glow of the Great October Revolution.

It is well-known that Herbert Wells, who visited Soviet Russia in 1920, was first among the prominent West-European writers to meet and talk with Lenin. Herbert Wells has recorded his impressions in a book which he called "Russia in the Shadows." With sincere admiration Wells speaks of Lenin in this book. The Bolsheviks, in his opinion, are the sole foundation on which a reborn Russia can be built.

However, there was a good deal that Wells did not understand. He called Lenin the "Kremlin dreamer" and did not believe in the possibility of carrying into life his plan for the electrification of Russia. But Lenin's ideas and the constructive enthusiasm of the people who put them into life proved more bold and daring than the imagination of this celebrated writer of fantastic stories.

History had indeed played a trick on Wells. When fourteen years later he again visited the Soviet Union he was compelled to admit that his positions which he knew, he begins to understand In his new autobiographical book where he sums up his career as writer Wells again speaks of Lenin.

He says that in looking back on the book he had written fourteen years ago, reconstructing in his memory the impressions of those days, and comparing Lenin with other men in key positions which he knew, he begins to understand what an outstanding and significant historical figure Lenin was. Wells writes that he by no means supports the theory of the exceptional role of "great men" in the life of mankind, but if we are to speak of the great representatives of the human race, he must admit that at any rate Lenin was indeed a great man.

Bernard Shaw, another outstanding English writer, sending his book to Lenin in June, 1921, wrote that Lenin alone among Europe's statesmen possessed the gifts, character and knowledge, essential for a man in such a responsible post.

Ten years later, during his visit to the USSR, Shaw, then seventy-five years old, again turned his thoughts to Lenin. He proclaimed Lenin to be a man superior to all others, a man who could be placed in the same row with only a few, and in the row of those few was a head higher than the rest.

And, consonant with Bernard Shaw, Romain Rolland, France's great writer and humanist, wrote the following in his article in 1934 "Lenin. Art and Action.":

"I know of no more powerful personality in contemporary Europe . . . . . His spiritual image in his lifetime was entrenched in the hearts of people and it shall remain unfading in the ages."

Romain Rolland regarded Lenin's activity as a remarkable unity of dream and action, he spoke of him as of a fighter, all in motion, in struggle and battle in all the moments of his life.

Henri Barbusse, another courageous French writer and democrat, saw in Lenin the embodiment of the greatest humanism of the socialist revolution. "To Lenin the words 'politics' and 'humaneness' have become synonyms," said Barbusse in his article devoted to Lenin and written in connection with the publication of a volume of Lenin's correspondence in France.

Such talented poets of our times as Alexander Tvardovsky and Emi Hsiao, Louis Aragon and Berthold Brecht, Johannes Becher and Nikolas Gilien, Nazim Hikmet and Ludmil Stojanov have written poems devoted to Lenin.

To all these eminent men of letters and public figures Lenin's ideas, his dream of the future, represent not only the throbbing present but also the new socialist humanism on the highroad to the morrow of history. New ages in literature will produce more works about Lenin of still greater impact and expressiveness. And Lenin's immortal name will live forever in people's hearts as a symbol of the best hopes and greatest accomplishments of mankind.

THE ONE WITHOUT A SECOND*

By DILIP KUMAR ROY

The ego or intellect or what they call
Mind and the senses—none of these am I:
I am not the eyes nor nose nor tongue
nor ears,
The earth, nor winds nor fire nor even
the sky:
I am, in essence, the Shiva Who only is
Pervading all as Consciousness and Bliss.

Hate and attachment, greed and fond
illusion,
Envy and pride's vainglory I disclaim:
I bow to no moral codes or legislation,
To wealth nor idol nor even salvation's
name:
I am, in essence, the Shiva Who only is
Pervading all as Consciousness and Bliss.

Virtue nor sin, sorrow nor happiness,
The sacred mantras nor the holiest shrine:
The Vedas nor to rituals I belong,
No eater am I—no pabulum is mine:
I am, in essence, the Shiva Who only is
Pervading all as Consciousness and Bliss.

I know no fear—even of doom or death,
Father nor mother nor barriers of caste:
I am uncreate—have neither friend nor foe,
Guru and disciple I have overpassed:
I am, in essence, the Shiva Who only is
Pervading all as Consciousness and Bliss.

Beyond all Name and Form and Time
I stay
As the Vast Formless overarching Space:
Untrammelled still by life, I overspread
All all that is—alone and fathomless:
I am, in essence, the Shiva Who only is
Pervading all as Consciousness and Bliss.

New York, April, 1953

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* Translated from Sankaracharya's Shiva Stotra.

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowleged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

ENGLISH

EDUCATIONAL SPEECHES: By Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee. A. Mukherjee & Co. (Private) Ltd., Calcutta. 1959. Pp. 256. Price Rs. 2·50.

The many-sided activities of the late Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee during his eventful career which was cut short prematurely by a tragic close are now matters of history. As Dr. Radhakrishnan says neatly in his appreciative Foreword, he was "an educator, humanist and politician." The present publication of the Syamaprasad Foundation (an institution founded in 1954 for perpetuating his memory) contains a list of nineteen speeches and addresses delivered by him at various University convocations and educational conferences in our country. They cover for the most part the period between 1933 and 1938, only three being brought down to the forties of this century, and another which has been described as "the last testament on educational reforms" by Dr. Mookerjee taking us down as far as 1952, a little more than a year before his fatal journey to Kashmir. The addresses give us not only luminous review of the activities of the contemporary educational institutions, but they also contain sound and practical suggestions for solution of the problems then (and often even now) facing higher education in this country. Some of these suggestions have since been vindicated by the lapse of time. The addresses breathe throughout a spirit of lofty patriotism born of appreciation of our cultural ideals combined with a liberal and dynamic outlook characteristic of a man of vision. The paper, print and get-up are commendable, while it seems to be completely free from printing mistakes. We wish it a wide circulation among all interested in the advancement of education in our country.

U. N. Ghoshal

THE RUNAWAY AND OTHER STORIES: By Rabindranath Tagore. Edited by Prof. Somnath Maitra and published by the Visvabharati in anticipation of the Centenary Celebrations in 1961. Pp. 196. Price Rs. 5·00.

It is a collection of the English Translation of nine short stories in Bengali written by the poet at different times covering a period of nearly fifty years. The translations are the work of some very eminent people, Indian and English. They include Andrews, Pearson and Jadunath Sarkar.

Some critics think that Tagore has been ill served by his translators. Bengali readers turn their noses up because they miss the things they are familiar with in the translations and Europeans find fault with them because the poet's Bengali cannot easily be cast into their idioms.

Tagore himself was against translating his works into another language. He likened translations to the skin of a dead calf stuffed with straw to deceive its mother and insisted that those who wanted to enjoy his writings must approach them in the original. That however is not an easy task. The world has been enriched by translations of the great writers of foreign-lands. The effigy of the calf serves its purpose by luring the cow to yield her milk and generations of people have drawn their nourishment through translations. One wonders if Tagore himself would have been known to the outside world without this aid. He himself has translated many of his works.

Tagore is not easy to translate. As a highly imaginative poet, he cannot think in the abstract. His mind is peopled with images. Even while he argues, his mind teems with figures and his thought clothes itself into vivid pictures. He draws his images from the familiar objects, scenes, fancies and legends of Bengal. When he goes farther afield in search of them, they are nearly always from the India of the Classical poets. This particular diction has an intimate setting and cannot be easily transferred to another medium. Besides his humour, subtle and illusive, with which his writings are strewn all over, proves baffling to the translator.

This apology however is not very necessary in reviewing the present volume. As stated before, the translations are the work of persons who are at home in both the languages. One or two anomalies might be pointed out where the editor might have taken some liberties with the language but probably he stayed his hand in consideration of the eminence of the translators. But these are so few that the readers' pleasure will never be impaired.

Tagore's reputation as a story-teller is so firmly established that a rehearsal of his greatness is hardly necessary. Some critics who have unfortunately not the privilege of reading his works in the original go so far as to assert that his real genius is to be found in his stories and that he is a story-teller first and a poet by grace. Such view of course is ridiculous and betrays the lamentable ignorance of the people who hold it. As a matter of fact we cannot have proper appreciation of the poet's art as a story-teller unless we know what it is in his poetry, particularly his lyrics. The same revealing flash of light, the same thrilling surprises, the same economy and concentration in expressions and thought, the same reticence and consequent loftiness of sentiment are to be met with in his story as in his poetry. We cannot forget what success he achieved by his verse romances enshrined in his **Katha O Kahini.**

Whether in poetry or in prose, one quality of his art as a story-teller makes itself felt. He takes a character at a psychological moment when it begins to open up under the impact of events and begins to unfold itself as a flower at the touch of the morning light. We watch fascinated its changing shades and subtle nuances as we do the iridescence of the petals. He of course takes us through action and situations to the inevitable goal. But he is more interested in the study of character than in action. The latter offers an angle from where to observe the development of character. Action to him is very often the psychic action. The physical one is the unconscious expression of the inner one.

This aspect of his art is conspicuous in the stories before us. **The Runaway, Trespass, The Conclusion** and **Cloud and Sun** are, if anything, primarily studies in character. The external action stops when the veil that hides the faces of his heroes and heroines drops off and the characters stand revealed before our gaze. Our mind then asks, like a child, what's next? But the creator has ceased to take interest in them. **The Runaway** is not a homing bird. Nothing can hold him in a cage though it be golden. His truant nature makes him a perpetual fugitive and the open road lures him from love and comfort. But more interesting is the character of the girl Charu spoilt by her parents' solicitude for her. The poet unfolds her character link by link and portrays with rare subtlety how her perversity and seeming contempt for the waif Tara is only the inverse side of her admiration for him which gradually ripens into love. These were the days of child marriage and the poet shows with unerring skill the gradual but unconscious maturity of those girl brides. Like Charu of the **Runaway**, Giribala of **Cloud and Sun** and Mrinmayi of the **Conclusion** represent different facades of the same type of character, the girl unconscious of her growing attachment for the man, strange and awkward, whom he torments either with her scorn or pranks only to discover that life is impossible without him. **The Hidden Treasure** is a fairy tale in which the lure of buried treasure infatuates the hero so much that he finds himself on the brink of death during his quest, but he realizes in a sudden flash that life and the gifts of nature are far more precious than all the gold mines of Pluto. **Mahamaya** is again the study of a character, stern and awful, silhouetted against the flame of pyre burning a suttee with the stormy sky thundering above. The whole panorama of history of the bygone days spreads before our eyes in all its grimness. **Cloud and Sun,** apart from its delightful love episode, introduces us to a chapter of our history in recent times giving us an insight into the familiar picture of how the upholders of the white man's burden were conducting themselves in this country. We also see how political martyrs were made out of timid and retiring people like young Sashibhushan, a briefless pleader. **False Hopes** is a beautiful fantasy conjured up by the Darjeeling fog, the echo of a glorious day which has departed for ever. **The Judge** is the picture of a dissolute man turning into a stern moralist, whereas **Trespass** depicts with delicate humour a childless widow suffering from the untouchability mania. She will not permit her own nephew, brought up as her child, to enter her templeyard for fear of defilement but will not give up to the sweepers of the village the dirty pig which has fled into the temple bush for fear of life. The last story **The Stolen Treasure,** more modern in theme and environment, is the delightful account of the love of an elderly couple with a grown up daughter of marriageable age, renewing everyday their ritual of courtship. Their prolonged romance leaves an unforgettable impression.

Rabindranath is great and is unrivalled in his own field anywhere.

Saroj N. Ray

WHISPERS FROM ETERNITY: By Paramhansa Yogananda. Seventh Edition. With a foreword by Amelita Galli-Curci. Published by Self-Realization Fellowship, Los Angeles, California, U.S.A. Pp 266 +XXII. Price not mentioned.

The book, under review, is attractively cloth-bound and tastefully got-up and has already undergone seven editions in the course of twenty-four years. Its author Yogananda Swami is an immortal monk of Bengal who proceeded to America in 1920 and remained in the West for over thirty years. In hundreds of Western cities he taught the largest Yoga classes in the world and personally initiated about a lakh of aspirants into Yogic practice. He passed away in Los Angeles in March, 1952 after concluding his impressive address at a banquet held in honour of H.E. B. R. Sen, the then ambassador of India to U.S.A. His Autobiography of a Yogi, Science of Religion, Cosmic Chants and other excellent books have been highly appreciated and widely circulated throughout the cultural World.

The present book is divided into four sections entitled Prayers and Soul Thought, Invocations to the world's great spiritual teachers, Children's Prayers and Experiences in Super-consciousness. In all there are 236 poems in four Sections. Most of these mystical verses were composed extempore in an inspired mood during the Yoga classes in various cities. They are spontaneous outpourings of a mystic mind and at once touch the heart of a devout reader. Simplicity of thought, lucidity of language and spiritual fervour are notable features of these poetical compositions. The book is illustrated with superb portraits of Saraswati, Sri Krishna and the author. The likeness of Saraswati is drawn by Ranoda Ukil of Delhi and attached with a nice caption.

Amelita Galli-Curci in her short foreword rightly remarks, "In this sacred Book the Lord is portrayed in His immanent aspect: the Cosmic Mother—a grand conception of the Infinite and Invisible. Swami Yogananda's writings give profound answers to questions of modern scientific mind seeking God intelligently."

The book is destined to rank as a sacred classic and pass into the hands of devoted aspirants for repeated perusals. Cheap Indian edition of Swami Yogananda's works should be brought out for sake of wider circulation by the institutions started by him in India and U.S.A.

Swami Jagadiswarananda

POPULATION CONTROL (A Modern Shibboleth): By M. P. Desai. Navajiban Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pages 53. Price .50 nP.

This book contains a few articles by Sri M. P. Desai, ex-editor of the "Harijan." The question of population is particularly imported today in view of India's teeming and ever-increasing millions. More so because the Government of India has made birth-control a matter of State policy and is using people's money for a cause which is controversial. Thus it has become a party question.

The author has discussed the subject from different angles in eight chapters and has tried to prove that the theory of increase of population faster than increase in the production of food is not tenable and is disproved by the facts of present-day scientific improvements in food articles and other discoveries. According to him, it is a cry of Asian nations who are responding to a false cry of the progressive West. The neo-Malthusian theory is a myth. America, Russia and even England (in spite of Malthus) never took to birth-control seriously and, in fact, they increased their population and thereby gained economic supremacy. The only European nation that took to population-control was France, and as a result she is decaying. As a matter of fact, the increase of population brings its own check not by disease, hunger and any other cause of destruction but by nature's way of lesser increase due to changes in the standard of living in civilized society. Artificial methods are derogatory and harmful and in Gandhiji's word "immoral."

The author quotes extensively from Mahatmaji and Mr. Colin Clark, an economist, in support of his thesis.

The book deserves to be widely read and the subject thoroughly discussed by the educated people who are likely to be the first victims of artificial birth-control.

A. B. Dutta

THUS SPAKE THE BUDDHA : Edited by P. Ramaswamy. Published by The Hilal Publishing House, Tirunelveli, Madras. Price Re. 1.50nP.

Selected sayings of the Buddha rendered into English. These are words of eternal value and shall always be heard with respect all over the world.

DAWN OR DARKNESS : R. K. Karanjia, Jaico Publishing House. 125 Mahatma Gandhi Road. Bombay-1. Price Rs. 3|- net.

"When West Asian tensions were at their peak" Mr. Karanjia undertook a press-mission and met Nasser, Khruschev and Kassim. The present volume is made up of his diary. His impressions of the important personalities and close study of the contemporary political trend in the East deserve attention.

A CRITICAL GUIDE TO POETRY : Prof. N. M. Kulkarni, M.A. Students' Friends, Allahabad. Price Rs. 2|-.

A CRITICAL STUDY OF FRANCIS BACON : Prof. T. K. Dutt, M.A. Students' Friends, Allahabad. Price Re. 1.25nP.

Both are help books meant for college students. As such they are likely to be popular.

POEMS ON INDIAN NATURE : By Srinivas Murthy: Mahbubnagar, Andhra Pradesh. Price Re. 1|-.

There are signs more of toil than of success in these verses.

D. N. Mookerjea

SANSKRIT

1. TRIKAM, 2. PURNAPATRAM : By Siromani Sannidhana Suryanarayana Shastri, P.O.L., Samskritacharya Venkatarama Reddi Mahilakalasala, Hyderabad. To be had of the author, 44, Zeera Compound, Secunderabad, Andhra Pradesh. Price Rs. 1·50 and Re. 1 respectively.

We have here the author's own translations in Sanskrit of some of his writings in Telugu. **Trika** is a collection of three poems, **Kira-sandesha, Vipravira** and **Madhukosha**. The first of these is based on the mythological story of Krishna and Rukmini, the second deals with the story of a quasi-historical General of Andhra. The third is a selection of about one hundred erotic verses from the author's Telugu poem **Smaragita** consisting of six hundred verses. The **Purnapatra** is a collection of verses on miscellaneous topics : religion, nature and mysticism. Under the first category we have translations of 'twenty parables of Shri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa.' The learned author writes elegant Sanskrit which will be read with interest and relish by all lovers of the language. Students of Andhra will be benefited by a comparison of the translation with the original.

Chintaharan Chakravarti

HINDI

PREMPANTH : Compiled by V. G. Desai. Translated by Someswar Purohit. Navajiban Mandir. November, 1958. Pp. 64. Price 40nP.

Observations of different kinds and on various topics connected with the ways of Love and Non-violence compiled from Gandhiji's writings have been already published. This is the second in the series, and it follows the same pattern. The topics include khadi and non-violence, tobacco and drink and their pernicious effects, fear of death, etc.

P. R. Sen

MARATHI

RAMBHAU MANDALIK YANCHE JIVANACHARITRA: By M. K. Sahasrabuddhe. Published by S. N. Agashe, 1445 Sadasiva, Poona-2. Price Rs. 3|-.

A great waker for the cause of Independence, Rambhau Mandalik (1881—1958) has had a capable biographer in Shri Sahasrabuddhe who has not delayed in completing his task at the earliest opportunity possible—with love and admiration for his subject. Born of a distinguished family, he passed the B.A. examination of his University in 1904 but then politics claimed him. Tilak's stand in politics attracted him and he took a leading part in Colaba District Congress Committee during 1923-33, being also a member of the Maharashtra P.C.C. and of the A.I.C.C., coming in direct contact with Gandhian ideology and practice. And then he came face to face with the Hindu Mahasabha. His life was an instance of the forces which worked during the stormy nineteenth-twentieth century in India, and this was a receptive soul.

Rambhau Mandalik's life will prove of interest to the reading public outside Maharashtra also.

P. R. Sen

GUJARATI

(1) RUSSIA: By Pranjivan Doshi. Pp. 190. Price Rs. 1-8.

(2) AMERICA: By Pranjivan Doshi. Pp. 239. Price Rs. 1-8.

(3) THE STORY OF THE EARTH: By Chandrabhai K. Bhatt. Pp. 120. Price As. 12.

All three published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature. Printed at its own printing press, Ahmedabad. Map. Illustrated. 1957. Card-board covers.

America and Russia are, at present, on the lips of every person in India, politically, financially, and partly culturally. We must know ultimately, therefore, what they are in these respects. Mr. Doshi has carried out the task successfully and in a short compass has set out all that is required to be known about these two vast countries dominating in these days the politics and the fate of the world. In "The Story of the Earth," Mr. Bhatt traces in popular language, the origin and development of the Globe on which we live as well as of those who inhabit it. It is a fascinating story.

K. M. J.

GREAT WOMEN OF INDIA

Editors: **Swami Madhavananda & Dr. R. C. Majumdar**

Introduction: **Dr. S. Radhakrishnan.** *Jacket Design*: **Acharya Nandalal Bose**

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Indian Periodicals

The Liberating Function of Education

Dr. John E. Owen writes in **The Aryan Path**:

It is the theme of this article that a mature education, a **liberal** education in the best sense, would have the function of freeing the human mind from the all-pervasive cultural pressures that perpetuate the psychologically stultifying forces of every age.

It is admittedly very difficult to acquire a mental detachment from one's own culture, since the climate of opinion and the psychological ethos are as real as the air one breathes.

In all cultures and epochs, the majority of men have been ethnocentric, so emotionally bound by the narrow loyalties of their own tribe, clan or nation-state as to be indifferent to the achievements and sometimes even the existence of other cultures. The effect of World War II, of aviation, of the UN and Unesco, has broken down the pre-war parochialism. Race prejudice is harder to eradicate, since it is an emotional reaction that cannot be solved merely by pointing out the scientific facts of race. But no liberal education is complete if it leaves an individual with the same intolerant or hostile racial attitudes that he acquired in his early childhood or community conditioning.

Similarly, a mature education would liberate its participants from the compulsive egoism of which race hatred is one expression. Significantly, the prophets of all the world religions have spoken of the necessity of transcending the self. Aldous Huxley has written of the blight of egoism from which man needs to be released, and a prominent American theologian defines sin as the collective selfishness of large groups.

This suggests a related area in which vital education would function to liberate the individual mind. It would relieve the burden of inflexible attitudes that cling to religious dogma and superstition.

A liberal education, in any country, would also awaken the realization that value inheres in other religions than its own, and that other cultures with different traditions have produced their own prophets who perceived various sides of the prism of truth. This type of education would instil the sense of participating in the religions of mankind, transcending localisms and provincial fixations of doctrine ("the one true faith" dogma) through the knowledge that the ultimate values and goals of all faiths are fundamentally identical.

A further sphere for the functioning of the educative process is that of ensuring liberation from mediocrity, from the cult of the average and from the pressure of "the herd mind."

A mature education would also create attitudes of mind free from cynicism and defeatism. It would instil the belief that problems can be solved or alleviated; it would make the world safe for intelligence and the application of intelligence to the pressing tensions of the age.

In actuality, the **world-outlook** is the only realistic one to take at the present time.

Corruption at High Level

Chowringhee writes editorially:

Mr. Nehru had summarily rejected Sri Chintaman Deshmukh's demand for the appointment of a permanent tribunal to investigate charges of corruption and abuse of power against people in high positions during the last plenary session of the Indian National Congress. This, in the face of definite undertaking by a personage of Sri Deshmukh's position and integrity, to place evidence relating to several such cases of which he had personal knowledge, before such a Tribunal when appointed. The matter was further ventilated later in both Houses of Parliament at the opening of the current session but Mr. Nehru remained obdurate in his refusal to accept such a proposition. It was also ventilated in a meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party and although

Mr. Nehru carried the day, it was obvious that all within his own party were not quite satisfied with the attitude taken up by him.

Mr. Nehru's reason for such a stand seems to be that all sorts of wild accusations are made from time to time against officials, both high and low, but seldom any substantiable evidence is adduced in support of such charges. The ordinary laws of the land have ample authority to deal with proved cases of nepotism and corruption and the appointment of such a Tribunal, as demanded, would only have the effect of demoralising the public services. Mr. Nehru's justifications, for they are hardly anything more, do not unfortunately convince anyone except, perhaps, himself On the contrary, the impression has gained added force that the goliath of corruption and nepotism has so enveloped the public services of the country, especially at the highest levels, that he feels himself quite impotent to deal with it. More. He is afraid of the reckoning that any close and fearless inquiry into charges would be bound to eventually lead to, and he is neither courageous nor honest enough, to agree to face such a probability. In fact it is quite probable that he may feel that in the event of his agreeing to accept such a demand, he himself would not be left quite uninvolved from what would be likely to follow and it is but natural for any man, however powerful he may be, to wish to put off such an evil day.

Mr. Nehru, it must be clearly realised, has reinforced his present power not only by the intrinsic quality of his political sagacity—if that has at all played any part in the process—but primarily by the broadcast distribution of patronage which his high position has enabled him to do. Indeed, this is what has been holding the Congress Party together so far, and anything calculated to upset the process or designed to break it up would, it is reasonable to fear, have the most devastating effect upon the structure on which this power has been built up. It is no use shutting one's eyes to this very obvious fact and the time for holding one's tongue has been long past. All this has, no doubt, been useful in maintaining Mr. Nehru and his minions in power, even strengthening it, but the cost at which it has been done would be beyond any material computation. The cost, indeed, has been terrific in terms of breakdown of character, almost in every department of public and private life, and it is impossible to forecast to-day with any degree of sureness as to how many decades, even centuries, it might take the country as a whole to grow the courage and strength necessary to recover from its insidious, but nevertheless, disintegrating force.

But to accuse Mr. Nehru and his Party adherents alone for such a state of affairs would not be quite fair. The Parties in opposition are hardly less responsible. Indian politics since Independence, it is necessary to clearly understand, has degenerated into a happy hunting ground for all kinds of adventurers, most of whom are out to get what they can out of it for themselves. If there are a few here and there who have been able to stand apart, theirs are like lone voices in a howling wilderness, feeble and futile. The result has been, as it was bound to be, that Mr. Nehru and his Party have been able to develop monolithic and, therefore, absolute power within an apparently democratic form, without the need to respect or even care of an effective Opposition.

What might have integrated into an Opposition, and quite an effective one at that, had from the very beginning of the establishment of India's so-called democratic sovereignty, had presented itself as a melee of self-seeking adventurers. This, if anything, had helped to deliver absolute power into the hands of Mr. Nehru and his Party and, as absolute power always must, it has corrupted what might otherwise have developed traditions of healthy and honest democratic practice into a totalitarian hegemony.

Where Mr. Nehru and his Party has gained over all their opponents in present Indian politics has been, firstly, that they profess to stand for an economic system—although in actual effects the results may have been of a contrary character—which, by name at least, has a measure of large popularity and, secondly, that they have been able to exploit the Mahatma's technique of mass contacts to their own ends.

What, therefore, is needed is a more vigorous and far broader-based political endeavour which is, at the same time, guided by principles of rigid rectitude and honesty. It will not be an easy task to successfully float such a political machinary,—it never is. It will mean almost heart-breaking self-denial and hard work against which results, at the early stages, will be bound to be almost negative.

Nobel Prizes

The following is taken from an article in **The Social Service Quarterly**:

Alfred Bernhard Nobel, a Swedish scientist, who had made a vast fortune from the explosive factories in Sweden and several other countries, made his will in 1896 leaving a sum of one crore dollars for these five prizes which are known as the Nobel Prizes. According to this will, he left the whole of his realizable estate to be invested in a capital fund of securities, the interest of which was to be given away every year in five prizes to five different persons. These are to be given for work to those persons, who do work of an outstanding nature during the last preceding year. The work for which the prizes are to be given away should be such as is calculated to confer the utmost good upon mankind. The interest of the invested securities should be divided into five equal parts which shall be as follows: One part shall be given to a person, who shall have made the most important discovery or invention in the field of Physics. One part to the person, who shall have made the most important chemical discovery or invention. One part shall be given to the person, who shall have made the most important discovery or invention in the field of Physiology or Medicine. The fourth part shall be given to the person, who shall have done the most outstanding work of an idealistic character and the fifth part shall be given to the person who shall have done the most or the best work for fraternity among nations, for the abolition or reduction of standing armies and for holding and promoting of peace conferences.

Different committees were appointed for determining the award of these prizes. According to the will of Mr. Nobel, the Swedish Academy for Science is to decide the award of the prizes in Physics and Chemistry. The Caroline Medico Chiurgical Institute shall select the winner of the prize for Physiology or Medicine. The prizes for literature shall be decided by the Swedish Academy and the choice of the prizeman for the Nobel Peace Prize is left to the decision of the Committee of five persons elected by the Norwegian Parliament. Mr. Nobel's keen desire was to make the selection of prize winners on the principle of merit alone. He, therefore, specially mentioned in his will that outstanding achievements alone should be the criterion for selecting prizemen and the considerations of nationality or race should have no scope in these decisions. The will was not made in consultation with legal opinion and hence many difficulties arose in the execution of the document. A number of loopholes were left out. No provision was made about the agency who was to carry out the behests of Mr. Nobel. Similarly the work of deciding the choice of prize winners was left to the bodies, which were not consulted as to whether they were willing to undertake the responsibility. The relatives of the testator Mr. Nobel questioned the validity of the will. For some time after his death it seemed that the liberal ideal of the great benefactor was likely to be frustrated, but ultimately good opinion prevailed and in 1899 all difficulties were removed and there was general agreement among the relatives of Mr. Nobel, the government and the Academies and they adopted the wise policy of administering the fund according to the conditions of the will. The creation of an organization called the Nobel Foundation was decided and a Royal Proclamation was made in 1900. Since then these prizes have been awarded to persons who have worked hard for good to mankind. The different committees appointed to do the difficult work of selecting prize winners have been doing their work in a spirit of impartiality.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Avanindranath Tagore's Concept of Aesthetic Universality

Dr. S. K. Nandi writes in **The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism**, December, 1959, printed in U.S.A.:

Art is a matter of desubjectification of the artist's subjective feelings and it raises the most controversial issue of its acceptance by one and all objectively. If it is demanded of art that it must conform to the various tastes of a living generation or to the varying tastes in different periods of time, we are expecting the absurd. Art never caters to the needs of a generation of men at any one time, and it is idle to expect that it should live through the ages as a living force. Paradoxically enough, sometimes we find good specimens of art surviving the onslaught of time. How does it happen? What is the true meaning of universality in art? If there be any such universality in art, how is it effected? All these are baffling questions indeed. It is quite difficult to explain and account for the universality that good specimens of art enjoy. This universality has a limited application and as such it stimulated the formulation of **Adhikarvada** in the field of aesthetics by the Indian Alamkarikas. Art, according to them, cannot be looked upon as a rendezvous for all. It is meant for those who are gifted with that rare capacity for appreciating art proper. Education and training are aids to such art-appreciation. However, universality in art does not mean its democratization. If art is to be democratized, it can be effected through mass education and regimentation. This type of regimentation is harmful, for, in course of time it would encourage one particular form of art and art would lose its varied forms and colors. The art movement of a country would reveal one pattern, and it would ultimately spell disaster for art.

Avanindranath Tagore is the father of a modern renaissance in the field of Indian art. It is interesting to note how this master mind understood the problem and solved it. Art, as a matter of fact, is expected to bear the impress of the individual mind, for it is the response of an individual. It is not a creation of the social mind but an individual creation stamped with the hallmark of an individual's peculiar way of seeing things. Rabindranath Tagore considered art to be the response of man's creative soul to the call of the real. Avanindranath also considered this subjective element in art to be of paramount importance. The stream of objects is there outside me and independent of me. A relation between this objective world and the world of art is undeniable. But the objective stream is viewed by the artist through his own glasses, and his way of permutation and combination of factual events and phenomena of nature produces a world of make-believe for him and for other people as well. This is the world of art. This claims universality. It bears an impress of eternity. It is temporal, and at the same time its bid for transcending the time-category cannot be lightly brushed aside. The panel paintings at Ellora and Ajanta and the murals of the Tunhuang caves defied time in the sense that they lived through time and weathered all its travails. All such works of art are the creation of an individual mind and at the same time they become universal in a sense. How this happens is beyond human comprehension. This mysterious character of art has led some people to dub it Maya. Our Tantras liken his process of artistic creation to the flight of a bird from one tree to another, leaving no trace whatsoever of its trail of flight across the blue. This mystery has enlivened aesthetics, and we think of academic art, foreign art, and adapted art in order to explain and understand the diversified art traditions of the world. An artist worth the name must liquidate his individualistic preoccupations by the constant hammering of a universalistic bias. The deindividualizing is necessary for making the work of art acceptable to other minds. If it is to be made palatable to others, it must not absolutely conform to the taste of its creator. In order to explain this phenomenon Tagore cites the example of a community dinner. When we invite a few of our friends of similar likings and taste, we may insist upon a specialized menu exclusively suited to our tastes. But when those invited are large in number and come from far and near, the menu must be broad-based. Our peculiar individual bias and likes and dislikes must be disregarded in order to accommodate the varying tastes of a vast number of men and women. The individual taste must be so curbed as to accommodate the tastes of the wider public. As it is in a symphony, so it is in a work of art. In a symphony all the notes must harmonize, and the process of harmonization may only take place when the different notes agree in accommodating one another. None of the notes could be so struck as to destroy the total effect. The toy instruments employed in **Toy Symphony**, for example, are a cuckoo, a trumpet, a drum, a whistle, a triangle, and a quail. They respect each other's right to exist in the whole, and the resultant effect is the symphony.

Thus Tagore contends that in the case of all good art the artist must not allow his individualistic bias to influence his creations too much. If it is so allowed, art appreciation on a wide scale becomes an impossibility. That is why Tagore prescribes the liquidation of individualistic tendencies in the field of art by the sledgehammering of a universalistic outlook. We must remember, Tagore points out, that the work of art is the meeting ground for the artist and art lovers. In **Gharoa** Tagore tells us that art is a three-storeyed building, and craft has been accommodated in the ground floor. The first floor is the rendezvous of the artist and the lovers of art. That is where the communion is accomplished. There they meet and the art work is reviewed. Herein we find art—an expression of the artist's inner art work is reviewed. Herein we find true images brought forth and wrought in an external medium. The top floor is exclusive to the artist: there he is in his sequestered vale. There he is busy with his creation. It is a land forbidden to the lovers of art. The psychologists may have a peep in that LHASA of the artist's mind, or the artist himself may be conscious of this inner working of his creativity. Where art is a finished product and awaits appreciation, the artist must admit the appreciator. Absolute subjectivity on the part of the artist will make him obscure and unintelligible. That is why the artist comes down from his ivory tower of pure subjectivity; from the top floor, to the first floor where other people can share the artist's joys and sorrows through his successful desubjectification. The top floor is a mystic's home. There he is unintelligible to the common man. If from there he looks for his self-realization, either he becomes a full-fledged Christian mystic or if he cares to take recourse to expression instead, he becomes an artist. This expression is meant to be acceptable to others.

The artist must remember this basic fact, and it will help him lend tone and color to his paintings which will live through time. This process of desubjectification of the artistic image from the pure subjectivity of the artist was believed to be the corner stone of all good art by the Japanese painters. Tagore agreed with them in understanding the meaning of universality by a process of desubjectification of the artist's feelings. Tagore elsewhere tells us of the assumption of the form and shape of the object by the appreciating mind. This phenomenon also presupposes the fact of desubjectification by the artist of his absolutely subjective feelings. Without this, art appreciation or communion in art becomes a myth. This universalization, conscious or otherwise, is the prerequisite of all good art. But this process varies in its extent and depth, and that is why some arts are greeted with acclamation by contemporaneous people and some by posterity; and why some art works belong to the age of the artist and some to all ages.

Indians of British Columbia

The following are some of the excerpts of an article by Mildred Valley Thornton published in the **Journal of the Royal Society of Arts**, London, February, 1960:

On considering the Indians of British Columbia, it must be noted that tribes in different parts of this huge province vary greatly in language, customs and traditions. Since it is impossible to deal with all of them in the limited space available I shall concentrate mainly on the Northern Pacific Coast, where there existed not so long ago an exotic native culture for which there is no counterpart in all the world.

No one knows how long the Indians have been there, but excavations in the great Fraser Midden near Vancouver testify that there was a flourishing community on that site 2,000 years ago—at the time of Christ, think of it—and no one knows how long before that. Remains of vast community houses were found, also skeletons, ornaments, weapons, tools, utensils and the like. This great camp site (for that is what a midden is) covered an area of 4½ acres, the largest yet discovered. Clam shells to a depth of 15 feet indicate a large population and a bountiful food supply. More recent explorations in the interior of the province have established Indian habitation 6,500 years ago.

Anthropologists, archaeologists and students from many parts of the world have come to study the ancient customs and traditions of our Coast Tribes, and to carry away with them priceless examples of their skilled craftsmanship. Nearly all anthropologists believe that Indians of British Columbia are Mongolian in origin; that in ages long past spasmodic migrations of primitive people came across the Bering Strait from Siberia, and found their way by degrees down through Alaska and into the more congenial climate of British Columbia.

Nature was kind to the Coast Tribes. For Indians on the Plains, life was an unending struggle for existence under the rigours of a harsh climate, with great extremes of heat and cold, and very little natural vegetation. Winter and summer they had to follow the buffalo and win by their own exertions the necessities of life.

In contrast, how different was the lot of their brothers on the Pacific Coast. With a moderate climate, in the midst of the greatest spawning grounds in the world, these Indians had access to an inexhaustible food supply, obtainable with ease. Many materials were readily accessible for their use. The all-important cedar tree, spruce, mountain-goat wool, shells, stone, jade, horn and argilite were utilized with marvellous skill and ingenuity. With prudent foresight they laid by vast stores of food for the winter months, which was a season for feasting and social enjoyment. Using stone axes and wedges, they cut down the mighty cedar tree to build their enormous houses sheltering many families under one roof. Also from the cedar tree they made their stout dugout canoes, which gave them great mobility of action. Cedar trees of tremendous height and girth were used for their gigantic war canoes. Some of these, handsomely carved and painted, were capable of holding up to sixty warriors. In war canoes, the proud fierce Haidas from the Queen Charlotte Islands roamed the entire coastline for hundreds of miles, the envy and terror of all other tribes.

From the cedar tree Coast Indians made their totem poles, grave boxes, masks, food boxes, utensils and innumerable other things. The inner bark of the cedar, pounded and shredded, was woven into fine material for clothing, hats, mats, and for ceremonial purposes. Beautiful baskets, decorated with native designs in wild cherry bark, were made from the roots of the cedar tree.

There were no nails, of course, in their great houses. They were fastened securely together with cedar rope but could easily be dismantled and transported to other places for the seasonal run of fish or gathering of berries. Later, they would be taken back again to their permanent location for the winter ceremonies.

Theirs was a highly competitive society, where rank, wealth and prestige were of primary importance. Family crests as portrayed by natural symbols were carved on the massive totem poles to proclaim the greatness of the owners.

Among the Kwakiutl were three rigidly defined classes: the nobles, the commoners and the slaves. In early days there were frequent intertribal raids to obtain booty and to carry away captives into slavery. A 'high person', as the aristocrats were called, was expected to maintain a dignified, aloof manner, to keep his own counsel and deport himself in a manner befitting his exalted station.

The Indians had powerful secret societies to which only the nobles belonged. Only the nobles took part in the elaborate dance ceremonies and secret rituals, and only they could wear the richly carved masks and traditional blankets.

Names, songs and dances were personal property of great value, and were not transferable without the owner's permission. Family crests depicting the raven, blackfish, grizzly bear, thunderbird, eagle and other creatures were jealously guarded and passed from generation to generation with all the rights and privileges pertaining thereto. In some tribes this was through matrilineal descent, in others through the male side of the family. Additional crests could only be obtained through marriage, and no one was permitted to marry beneath his or her rank.

Women had great power 'behind the Throne.' Some of them were chieftainesses in their own right.

A man could not carve his own totem pole, even if he had the talent to do so. Someone from a different clan must do it for him. This interdict was to guard against the wrongful use of crests.

Though the Indians of British Columbia undoubtedly did some carving long ago with their crude native implements, their work received tremendous impetus when they came into possession of white men's tools. It is thought that the most prolific period of their carving does not extend over a period of more than 150 years. The art is almost non-existent today, but impressive remains of fabulous images may still be found in remote villages long since abandoned for more profitable locations.

Artists were highly regarded in the old days. Only they were capable of preserving in visible form the symbols on which the native society was established. The artist worked in constant collaboration with the song-maker, the dancer and the story-teller.

The potlatch was the focal point of social activity among all coast tribes. It was a 'giving away ceremony.' The more man gave away the higher he rose in his estimation and in that of his fellows. Sometimes called 'the gift feast', the potlatch was usually held to celebrate an important event. A man might work for years to accumulate enough money and goods to hold a potlatch, then 'call' the people of neighbouring tribes to witness his wealth and generosity. The ceremonies lasted for days, perhaps weeks, the giver of the potlatch providing food for all the people. Often his relatives would help him, if need be.

Treasured above all else was a chief's copper. In the early days raw copper was obtained from natives of Alaska through barter. This was then hammered out into a flat shield-like form on which was etched the chief's most important crest and other insignia. The most valuable coppers had names of their own and legends about them. The incontestable proof of a chief's opulence and superiority was confirmed in the breaking of a copper.

Long ago the potlatch was forbidden by law, the Government contending that it impoverished the Indians. It undoubtedly did so, but at the same time it was a powerful stimulus to industry and it was the fertile soil out of which their astonishing native art emerged. Moreover, it was a guarantee of future welfare. Each recipient of a gift was in honour bound to return at least double the value received to the donor or his heirs, at some future day when he also could give a potlatch. No written records were kept, but everyone knew who owed whom and how much.

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PRABASI

Oldest, Illustrated & Cultural Bengali Monthly

There were things in the old Indian way of life that were most admirable. They had many sterling qualities that we would do well to remember. To our shame it must be admitted that too often we have taken to them our vice and our weaknesses instead of our strength and our probity. Far too often they have been the victims of cunning and exploitation by unscrupulous white men, until it is no wonder that they learned to copy our devices.

We face many a challenge today in endeavouring to preserve an ancient culture, while at the same time we are working to break down the very things out of which that culture grew. The Department of Indian Affairs at Ottawa is doing much to aid the Indian in the process of assimilation. We cannot close our eyes to the fact that this is the future which awaits him. He cannot remain for ever on the reservation, an oasis of stagnation in the midst of a rapidly advancing civilization.

All this comes about not only through improved medical services, but also because of greater co-operation from the Indians themselves. In the beginning, Medicine men and Medicine women were highly resentful of Government interference in what they regarded as their rightful domain. Indians were suspicious and afraid to let their loved ones be taken many miles away to hospital under the care of white people. Slowly the old prejudice was broken down, giving way to confidence and co-operation, as the Indians began to see for themselves the results of sustained professional treatment.

Now Indian girls take up nursing and home care. Indian boys come back from the schools with new ideas. Gradually the process of transition is being wrought.

More Indian young people go to university every year, many more attend high school. We have to-day Indian lawyers, doctors, ministers and successful business men.

Eventually more responsibility must be placed on the Indians themselves.

Paternalism has serious weaknesses and this is a very grave problem that the Indians themselves must consider and solve in due course. Until recently it was unlawful for Indians to buy or be given spirituous liquor. They were denied this doubtful privilege in early times to protect them from avaricious white men who sought to debauch and exploit them by depriving them of their senses. Times have changed and Indians have changed too. Where restrictions on the sale of liquor have been removed, the results have been disastrous in some cases. Other Indians have stood up splendidly under this new test of character. Some of the wise old chiefs will not allow strong drink of any kind on their reservations. Probably they handle the situation quite as well as white people would do under the same circumstances.

In British Columbia, Indians may vote in provincial elections. All Indians in the provincial elections. All Indians in the armed services (and many of them fought bravely in two world wars) automatically have the franchise. An increasing number of ambitious younger men have voluntarily foresworn their aboriginal rights in order to vote in full equality with their white brothers.

Financially, Indians of British Columbia are better off than they have ever been. In the interior of the province, some make a fair living at trapping, which is a diminishing occupation. Others do very well raising cattle, logging, working in lumber

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mills and canneries. In the Chilcotin, Indians periodically harvest Christmas trees in quantity that are shipped all over the Continent. Along the coast monetary conditions changed radically during the last war. When Japanese fishermen were removed from the coast as a security measure, Indians resumed an ancestral occupation from which they had long been excluded by Japanese monopoly. Working hard for long hours, they gradually paid for their own boats. Today many coast Indians are very well to do indeed, with fine homes, good cars and many of the comforts of life.

One must not discount the influence of the powerful 'Native Brotherhood' representing Indians from all parts of the province and the 'Native Sisterhood' to a lesser degree.

Intermarriage with whites is becoming a commonplace, to the mutual benefit of both races.

Able and educated Indian men and women are working hand in hand with interested white people for the betterment of their race. In British Columbia an Indian university graduate, Mr. Frank Calder, gave a good account of himself as an elected member of the legislature. Dr. Peter Kelly, a full-blooded Haida Indian, was the distinguished president of the United Church Conference in British Columbia. An Indian man from Alberta, Mr. James Gladstone, is the first native to be appointed to the Senate at Ottawa.

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কৃত্তিবাস রচিত

সচিত্র সপ্তকাণ্ড রামায়ণ

স্বনামধন্য ৺রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় সম্পাদিত

সুবিখ্যাত কৃত্তিবাসী রামায়ণের সর্ব্বোৎকৃষ্ট

অষ্টম সংস্করণ প্রকাশিত হইল

উইলিয়ম কলেজ হইতে প্রকাশিত যাবতীয় প্রক্ষিপ্ত অংশবর্জিত মূলগ্রন্থ অনুসারে ৫৮৬ পৃষ্ঠায় সুসম্পূর্ণ ইহাতে বিশ্ববিখ্যাত ভারতীয় চিত্রকরদিগের আঁকা রঙীন ষোলখানি এবং এক বর্ণের তেত্রিশখানি শ্রেষ্ঠ ছবি আছে। রঙীন ছবিগুলির ভিতর কয়েকটি প্রাচীন যুগের চিত্রশালা হইতে সংগৃহীত ছবির অনুলিপি। অন্যান্য বহুবর্ণ ও একবর্ণের ছবিগুলি শিল্পীসম্রাট অবনীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর, রাজা রবি বর্মা, নন্দলাল বসু, সারদাচরণ উকিল, উপেন্দ্রকিশোর রায়চৌধুরী, মহাদেব বিশ্বনাথ ধুরন্ধর, অসিতকুমার হালদার, সুরেন গঙ্গোপাধ্যায়, শৈলেন্দ্র দে প্রভৃতি সুনিপুণ তুলিকায় চিত্রিত।

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